HISTORY OF INDIAN JOURNALISM

By

J. NATARAJAN

PART II OF THE REPORT OF THE PRESS COMMISSION

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF THE PRESS IN INDIA

One may broadly define the origins of the functions of the Press as that of conveying government policies to the public, keeping government informed of public needs and reactions to government policies, and keeping the government and the public informed of events. Each function developed as the need for it was felt. The first of these functions, in India as elsewhere, may be traced as far back as the beginning of organised society. In the act of acknowledging the tribal chief, the members of a tribe agreed at a meeting to conduct themselves towards each other and towards the chief in certain terms and the chief in return undertook to exert himself to uphold and to enforce certain rights as between members of the tribes and, generally, to organise the tribe itself to resist any external aggression. These meetings were the primitive method of modifying or amplifying policies and of making the will of the chief known to the tribe as well as of ascertaining the will of the tribe as a whole. As one tribe extended its jurisdiction over other tribes a more elaborate machinery developed and the ruling tribe assumed the aspect of the tribal chief in so far as the subject tribes were concerned. The emphasis was on making the will of the ruling chief or tribe known to the subordinate tribes.

There is evidence in a later era of the ruler making his will known to the people through edicts and proclamations. A concurrent development was the agency whereby the ruler acquainted himself of activities which threatened in time to develop into a challenge to his authority. At a later stage machinery was developed to keep the ruler informed of the main currents of the life of the people. The agency that collected taxes, for example, provided information on conditions in the prosperous and the backward areas. It is known that organised attempts were made to relieve, famine and distress by affording timely relief. The inference may be drawn that in the first stages such information was transmitted verbally by messengers who committed it to memory and that at a much later stage it was reduced to writing.

In the Ashoka period when the Church and the State became identified as one and the State itself was supported by a highly developed administration, the Emperor had many sources of information ranging from the spies who reported on subversive activities, the secret overseers attached to every department, the reports from the departments themselves and accounts of the socio-religious activities of the people from the monasteries. Only the secret reports were heard exclusively by the Emperor. All other matters were considered by the Council of Ministers and in some forms of government by the supreme assembly. Ministers had their own sources of information which enabled them to make a significant contribution to the deliberations of council or assembly.

It may be inferred from this that there were two clear categories of information available to the king: there were spies of many categories and secret emissaries who were received exclusively by him and presented secret information. These may be regarded as the precursors of the secret service and the intelligence arm of the police. The king also spent a considerable time each day in dealing with the affairs of the people and in corresponding by writs with ministers and viceroys. The writ writer was possessed of

ministerial qualifications and was conversant with the customs of the people. He took the king's orders and reduced them to writing. The king's writs were in reply to communications from ministers and viceroys, and in them guidance was given on action to be taken by way of granting remissions or licences or issuing a general proclamation. Some of these writs were accompanied by oral messages conveyed by the messenger who was himself an important official entitled to a grant of land. Ministers too were expected to keep themselves well informed by correspondence and a minister was expected successfully to undertake works for the people, ensure security of person and property and propose remedial measures against calamities and in the promotion of colonization and the improvement of wild tracts of land

The news-letter was, therefore, an early institution which kept the ruler regularly informed of developments in various parts of the country and among different classes of the people. It is possible that secret information was combined with general news but information of general conditions was made available to and often formed basis of discussion in the Council of Ministers. Wider dissemination, among ministers and advisers, of contents of newsletters was a common practice prevalent in various courts in India before the advent of the Moghul emperors who kept up and improved on the practice.

In the Moghul period news writers were appointed to various administrative units in their territory, and were charged with the function of sending reports to the head-quarters of the administration. These manuscript reports were submitted exclusively for official use and there are early indications of news writers working in collusion with a governor or a local administrative official, presenting them in a favourable light to the central authority and covering up their tyranny and oppressive exactions. A later development was the copying of these reports and their circulation to important officials. Still later the various administrations in the Indian peninsula kept themselves informed of events and doings in one another's territories through the medium of these manuscript newspapers. There are conflicting reports about the state of the 'Press' in the time of Aurangzeb; for while one historian records that the Emperor allowed great liberty in the matter of news, another ascribes the failure of Aurangzeb in Deccan to the false reports sent to him by his news writers.

The East India Company also requisitioned the services of news writers to the same purpose as the Moghul Emperors. Early reports were confined to the affairs of the English and on occasion the grievances of the Company's employees were ventilated through this channel and sometimes redressed. For a number of reasons the news writers in the service of the East India Company were subject to greater control than those of the Moghul Emperors.

The Company's practice of paying small salaries supported by the attraction of private trading which was described as "the greatest opportunities of official position" had led to the growth of a number of evils in its establishments in India. As early as 1600(?) Sir Thomas Roe submitted a comprehensive survey of the Company's establishments in India in which he recommended:

"Absolutely prohibit the private trade for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they care not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages to their content: and then you know what you part from. But then you must make good choice of your servants and have fewer.".

The Court of Directors laid down in London the following terms of appointment to be carried out in all the factories:

"For the advancement of our apprentices we direct that after they have served the first 5 years, they shall have £10 per annum for the last 2 years; and, having served these two years to be entertained one year longer as writers and have a writer's salary; and having served that year to enter into the degree of factors which otherwise would have been 10 years. And knowing that a distinction of titles is in many respects necessary we do order that when the apprentices have served their times they be styled writers; and when the writers have served their times they be called factors; and factors having served their times to be styled merchants; and merchants having served their times to be styled senior merchants".

In Madras, at the beginning of the 18th Century the President was allowed a salary of £200 per annum and a gratuity of £100; 6 Councillors were allowed salaries from £40 a year to £100 each according to his rank; factors at £15; and 10 writers at £5 per annum.

In order to protect the servants of the Company from evil external influences and temptations, it was enjoined that the servants should lodge under a general roof and board at a common table. Economy was the guiding consideration.

All these rules were honoured more in the breach than in their observance. Lord Clive reports to the Court of Directors in 1765:

"The sudden and, among many, the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, had introduced luxury in every shape and in its pernicious excess....Every inferior seemed to have grasped at wealth, that he might be enabled to assume the spirit of profusion, which was now the only distinction between him and his superior ....Nor was this the end of the mischief, for a contest of such a nature among your servants necessarily destroyed all proportion between their wants and the honest means of satisfying them. In a country where money is plenty, where fear is the principle of government, and where your arms are ever victorious, in such a country, I say, it is no wonder that corruption should find its way to a sport so well prepared to receive it....Before I had discovered the various sources of wealth, I was under great astonishment to find individuals so suddenly enriched, that there was scarce a gentleman in the settlement who had not fixed upon a very short period for his return to England with affluence. From hence arose that forward spirit of independency which, in a manner, set all orders at defiance, and dictated a total contempt of them as often as obedience was found incompatible with private interest".

An allied problem was that of "interlopers" who carried with them a letter from a Minister in London or an influential member of the Court of Directors. Macaulay in his speech on the second reading of the India Bill of 1853 narrated an incident of an interview which Lord Clive granted a nominee of this kind, asked him how much he wanted, wrote out an order for £100,000 (£10,000 is the more likely figure) and told him to leave India by the ship in which he came. Commenting on this, Lord Macaulay says:

"I think the story is very probable, and I also think that the people of India ought to be grateful for the course Lord Clive pursued; for though he pillaged the people of Bengal to give this adventurer a large sum, yet the man himself if he had received an appointment, might both have pillaged and misgoverned them as well".

Even after the India Bill of 1784 which prohibited private trade on the part of the Company's servants, Lord Cornwallis who is credited with having raised the standard of the administration and of the conduct of the servants of the Company, wrote to the Board of Control:

"I am sorry to say that I have reason to believe that at present almost all the Collectors are, under the name of some relation or friend, deeply

engaged in commerce, and by their influence as judges and Collectors of Adaulat, have become the most dangerous enemies to the Company's interests and the greatest oppressors of the manufacturers.

In another and an earlier communication, Lord Cornwallis himself admitted that he had treated William Burke, the brother of Edmund Burke, with the "greatest personal attention". He had done him little favours such as "ensigncies" in the King's service to his friends, but he explained his inability to "put large sums of money in his (William Burke's) pocket". Lord Cornwallis was pestered with recommendations from the King's Court, the King's Ministers, the Houses of Parliament and from men and women of rank and influence in London but successfully resisted all of them. The effect of this was that the East India Company's establishment in India became the close preserve of the Company's servants who took all precautions to ensure that no coherent account of their extra-service activities reached Leadenhall Street or even London.

First Newspaper.—It is not surprising, in the circumstances, that no English newspaper had come into being in India although the Company had installed a printing press in Bombay in 1674 and provided a generous supply of types and paper. Another press was installed in Madras in 1772 and an official printing press was established in Calcutta in 1779. It is significant, in this context, that the first attempt to start a newspaper in Calcutta was made in 1776 by Mr. William Bolts who had resigned from the Company's service earlier that year after censure by the Court of Directors for private trade under the Company's authority. The notice of his intention to embark on the enterprise made it known that he had "in manuscript many things to communicate which most intimately concerned every individual", and evidently gave rise to alarm in official quarters*. He was directed to quit Bengal and proceed to Madras and from there to take his passage to Europe. No attempt was made to emulate Mr. Bolts' example for 12 years until 1780, when James Augustus Hicky started the *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser,* in the first issue of which he introduced himself as "the late printer to the Honourable Company". Hicky's Gazette specialised in the exposure of the private lives of servants of the Company, and Hicky who described himself as the first printer in the employ of the

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*Extracts from letter dated 24th November 1767 from General Richard Smith, Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in Bengal, and third member of the Secret Committee and the Council, to the Secret Committee.

"The nature of the intelligence transmitted from Calcutta to Sujah Dowlah is without limits. The Nabob is almost as well acquainted with the Parliamentary proceedings as I am: how far the importance and dignity of the Company, and the weight and influence of administration is lessened in his esteem by such communication may be easily conceived. Whilst a Vackeel is so ready and so sure a channel to communicate intelligence, few men will be found so hardy as to maintain a direct correspondence with the Nabob, but there is a man who has obliquely offered so great an insult to our President, that was I present at the Board, I would move for the exertion of our authority to its utmost extent to free the settlement from so dangerous an inhabitant; I mean Mr. Bolts; and the enclosed copy of a letter to Mr. Zentil, where he asserts an absolute falsehood, which tends to lessen that essential dignity and necessary influence of our President, is surely deserving of your severest resentment".

*["India Tracts—1772—1782"—(1) A short Review of the Transactions in Bengal by Major John Scott—published by the Bangabasi Office, Calcutta, 1905].

Company does not seem to have enjoyed a very high reputation. He had no pretentions to literary attainment and his two-sheet newspaper devoted considerable space to scurrilous attacks on the private lives of servants of the Company including the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, himself. A personal attack on Mrs. Hastings and attacks on one Simeon Droz, Colonel Thomas Dean Pearse and a Swedish missionary, John Zachariah Kiernander,* soon landed Hicky in trouble. He was deprived of the privilege of circulating his newspaper through the channel of the General Post Office. Kiernander against whom Hicky's real complaint was that he had sold types to a rival newspaper, the *India Gazette*, was accused of contemplating the sale of the Main Church. Kiernander secured a letter from the Governor-General clearing him of any such intention and sued Hicky for libel. Hicky was sentenced to 4 months imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. He was to be held in prison till the fine was paid. This did not deter him, however, from continued scurrilous writing and he launched bitter and abusive attacks on the Governor-General and the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey. An armed band of some 400 persons led by Europeans raided Hicky's press in order to effect his arrest under the order of the Chief Justice and instructions from the Governor-General. He beat them back but appeared of his own accord before the Supreme Court soon after, and as the Court had risen for the day he was promptly imprisoned and held in detention, being unable to pay the bail allowed him of Rs. 80,000. Hicky continued to edit his paper while in prison without any change of tone. In the trial that followed he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200 on one charge, and on another, the Chief Justice awarded Warren Hastings damages to the extent of Rs. 5,000 which, however, the Governor-General waived. Undeterred by all these setbacks, Hicky persisted in his writings but was gradually reduced to poverty and distress which ultimately broke him. How powerful and ruthless the Company was in dealing with those who incurred its displeasure may be judged from the fact that a piece of job work which involved the printing of 16,800 sheets of proceedings of Council on a commission from Sir Eyre Coote for which Hicky claimed Rs. 35,092 plus interest, was offered to be settled at Rs. 6,711 provided he accepted it as a full and final acquittal of his claims on the

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*The Rev. J. Kiernander was the first missionary of the English Church in Calcutta. He was a Swede by nationality, of high rank and family. His two uncles had been colonels in the army of the great Charles XII of Sweden, and had both died fighting bravely at the battle of Pultowa. Mr. Kiernander inherited their chivalrous qualities. Before coming to Calcutta, he worked for many years at Cuddalore, near Madras, where his life was constantly in jeopardy while the French and English strove for the mastery. The French on the whole, treated him well, and Count Lally saved his life when Cuddalore was sacked in 1758. After this he was transferred to Calcutta. It is somewhat startling to read that, although working in Calcutta for over forty years, he never acquired a knowledge of the Bengali language. His work was carried on in a corrupt form of Portuguese, which was the lingua franca all along the coast. Calcutta, as a growing port, was even at its early date a meeting place of many races. In Kiernander's congregation were Jews, Chinese, Armenians, Portuguese, and Dutch as well as a small group of Hindu converts, one of whom was a Brahmin. Kiernander's name is still remembered in Calcutta as the founder and builder of the "Old Church" which remains to this day in charge of a missionary priest. He devoted his own private fortune to the work. In 1775 Ganesh Das, who had come down from Delhi as Persian translator and had visited England, was baptized by Kiernander. (Extract from pages 2-3 of "North India" by Rev. C. F. Andrews, published by A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., London 1907).

Government. Hicky was reduced to such straits that he signified his willingness to accept the settlement provided the money was paid him in 24 hours. It is interesting to note that it took Hicky a few years to execute the order and that he was paid less than one-fifth of the sum he demanded 16 years after he undertook the job.

The ventures that followed were promoted by men who benefited from Hicky's bitter experience and 1780 saw the publication of the *India Gazette* by Messrs. B. Messink and Peter Reed. They first obtained the consent of the Governor-General and then addressed him in writing for postal concessions assuring him that they would abide by any regulations he may lay down and soliciting the favour of being appointed printers to the Honourable Company at Calcutta. Four years later, followed the *Calcutta Gazette* published under the direct patronage of Government and in the following year, came the *Bengal Journal* and a monthly, the *Oriental Magazine of Calcutta Amusement.* With the *Calcutta Chronicle* which was published in 1786, there were four weekly newspapers and one monthly magazine published from Calcutta within six years of Hicky's maiden effort.

The new editors trod warily the trail which Hicky had blazed for them. The undertakings given by the editor of the *India Gazette* have already been mentioned as also the fact that the *Calcutta Gazette* was an official publication. The *Bengal Journal* offered to publish all Government advertisements free of charge. Nothing is known of the fate of the *Calcutta Chronicle* beyond the fact that issues of the paper are to be found in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, (between 1782 and 1794) and in the British Museum Newspaper Library (between 1787 and 1790). The three other papers seem to have been conducted without any incident till 1791, except that in April 1785 the publication of Orders and Resolutions of the Council under the title of "General Orders" was banned.

Madras and Bombay.—Meanwhile, the first newspaper in Madras, the *Madras Courier,* came into existence (1785) as an officially recognised newspaper founded by Richard Johnson, the Government printer. By an order of the Government it was laid down that the publication of advertisements under the official signature either of the Secretaries of Government, or any other officer duly authorised, should be deemed to convey "officially and sufficient notification of the Board's orders and resolutions in the same manner as if they were particularly specified to any servants of the Company etc". In 1791, Boyd, then editor of the *Madras Courier,* resigned and started the *Hurkaru,* but the paper ceased publication a year later when he died. The *Madras Courier* continued without a competitor till 1795 when R. Williams started the *Madras Gazette* followed a few months later by the *India Herald* which was published without authority by one Humphreys who was arrested for the unauthorised publication but escaped from the ship on which he was to be deported to England.

Censorship was first introduced in Madras in 1795 when the *Madras Gazette* was required to submit all general orders of the Government for scrutiny by the Military Secretary before publication. Free postage facilities were withdrawn and on both newspapers protesting, it was decided to impose the levy at the delivery end.

Bombay's first newspaper, the *Bombay Herald* came into existence in 1789. The *Courier* which was published a year later carried advertisements in Gujerati. The *Bombay Gazette* was published in 1791 and the

Bombay Herald was merged into it the following year, being officially recognised for purposes of official notifications and advertisements in the same terms as the *Madras Courier*.

In Bombay and Madras, newspapers do not seem to have come into conflict with the Government in this early period. On the contrary, they were anxious to earn official recognition and to enjoy official favour. In fact the proprietor of the *Madras Courier*, Richard Johnson, secured new presses, types and material through the good offices of the Government which recommended to the Hon'ble Court of Directors that they should be transmitted to India free of duty. It would also seem that Hugh Boyd resigned from the editorship of the Madras *Courier* in 1791, probably because his conduct of the paper was not altogether to the liking of the Government. On two occasions on which it unwittingly offended, the editor readily published an apology. The only recalcitrant, Humphreys, was summarily dealt with both for unauthorised publication of the *India Herald* as well as for "gross libels on the Government and the Prince of Wales". Obviously, Humphreys was *persona non grata* with the Government even before he started his paper. In Bombay, the editor of the *Bombay Gazette* commented on the conduct of the police and incurred the Government's displeasure. He had given an undertaking when he started the paper to respect every order of the Government and after his lapse, he readily agreed to submit proof sheets of his paper to the Secretary for inspection before publication. He, later, sought to obtain the exclusive patronage of the Government on the ground that he had incurred heavy losses as a result of making the paper "subservient to the purposes of Government".

In Bengal, however, the position was different and in 1791, William Duane who, in partnership with Messrs. Dimkin and Cassan, acquired the *Bengal Journal* and became its editor, walked straight into the trouble by publishing the rumoured death of Lord Cornwallis while campaigning in the Mahratta War, attributing the report to an eminent Frenchman. The Commandant of the Affairs of the French Nation in India, Col. de Canaple, wrote in protest to the Bengal Government and Duane was on the verge of deportation from which he was saved by the timely intervention of the French Agent, M. Fumeron, who informed the Bengal Government that as the Colonel had died, no further action against the editor, who had already been punished enough, seemed to be called for. Duane was saved from deportation but could not evidently continue as editor of the *Bengal Journal*. He, therefore, started another paper the *Indian World* which, he records, prospered steadily in the next three years. Duane was nevertheless a marked man. His house was twice raided in 1794, once to ensure his presence in the Court of Requests for the Town of Calcutta and the second time when his house was broken into and searched, presumably under the orders of the Supreme Court to which he subsequently addressed a complaint asking to be informed of the reasons for its attitude towards him. He was informed that it was the wish of the Government that he should proceed to Europe by the next boat. Duane's contention was that he had been persecuted as a result of personal pique "for matters that had appeared in my paper relative to the enormous abuses and peculations of the Court," citing as an example that court costs for a debt of Rs. 100 amounted to as much as Rs. 50. Duane demanded an audience with Sir John Shore, the Governor-General was invited to Government House, placed under arrest on arrival there

and sent to England aboard an armed Indiaman together with three orphan children whom he had adopted. Duane received no compensation for the property left behind in India of the value of which his own estimate was Rs. 30,000. In support of his summary action against William Duane, Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, wrote in a letter to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas (December 31st, 1794) that newspapers in Calcutta had assumed "a licentiousness too dangerous to be permitted in this country," and that he had ordered one of the editors, William Duane, to be sent to Europe. In the interval between 1791 and 1798, newspapers in Bengal were pulled up for various offences many of which related to military subjects. In turn the editors of leading newspapers were pulled up and apologised and an army officer who contributed a pseudonymous letter was suspended from the service for indulging in writings likely to cause discontent and dissatisfaction in the Indian Army.

In 1798, Dr. Charles Maclean who started the *Bengal Harkaru* had a series of encounters first with the Post Master General for detaining certain letters addressed to Maclean and later with the Government for contributing a signed letter to the *Telegraph,* edited by McKenly, reflecting upon the conduct of the Magistrate of Ghazepore. The editor apologised but MacLean politely refused to do so. He was promptly deported and on his return to England played an important part in the campaign against Wellesley which led to the Governor-General's resignation in 1805. Leicester Stanhope, a great champion of the freedom of the Press, wrote: "On Lord Wellesley's return to England Dr. MacLean published his case, and no man, throughout, ever behaved with greater prudence and firmness."

In more than one sense the turn of the century marks the end of a phase in journalism in India. During this period, there were no Press laws as such. If the person intending to start a paper was already *persona non grata* with the Government or with influential officials he was deported forthwith. If a newspaper offended and was unrepentant, it was first denied postal privileges; if it persisted in causing displeasure to the Government, it was required to submit part of or the entire newspaper to precensorship, if the editor was "incorrigible", he was deported. Another aspect of journalism in India during this period was that it contained material exclusively of interest to and relating to the activities of the European population in India:

"Apart from parliamentary reports, there were editorials on subjects of interest to the resident Britons; on events in England, on the Army, on the reported plans of Indian rulers. In addition to this type of information we find newsletters and reports from Paris, Stockholm, Vienna, Madrid, China, Rio Janeiro and other centres of interest......There are letters to the editor, Government notices, social news, "poet's corners", advertisements and even fashion notes." (*The Indian Press* by Margarita Barns).

The early newspapers were started by ex-servants of the Company who had incurred its displeasure and their columns were devoted to the exposure of the evils and malpractices of the time. Many of the writings were scurrilous and indulged in the grossest libel. Nevertheless, they served a useful purpose. Later newspapers were started with direct or indirect official patronage.

XLVII. C. 22

[illegible]

BENGAL GAZETTE;

OR,

Calcutta General Advertiser.

204 D 3

Saturday January the 29th, 1780. [No. I.]

CALCUTTA THEATRE.

On Monday next, the 31st Inst. will Be performed the COMEDY, of the

BEAUX STRATAGEM;

With the FARCE of

LYTHE.

[illegible]

[illegible] Gazette.

[illegible] March the [illegible] 1779.

[illegible] February [illegible] division [illegible] under the Command of the [illegible] Regiment, which [illegible] obliged to [illegible] back [illegible] the even[illegible] of last Month, and it [illegible] get clear out of the Str[illegible] Winds hav[illegible] [con]tinually in their favor.

Four Spanish Frigates from *Car[illegible]*, entered this Port three days ago, and have on board 400 Sailors for *[illegible]*.

[illegible] Cruz, Teneriff, December the 10th. We have here, and on all the other *Canary Islands*, clouds of Locusts, which we conjecture come from *Barbary*, and which give us the most dreadful alarms for the Grounds already cultivated; Public prayers have been offered up for a [speedy] deliverance from this horrid [illegible] *Grand Canary* has as yet suffered most by them, but they have [been] greatly dispersed [illegible] by the vigilance of the Public Officers, and care of the Farmers in general.

Vienna, February the 25th. The Baths at *Baade* having proved of very great service to Margrave Archduc Maximalion, they have since been visited by the Emperor, Margrave Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, the *L. A. R.* the Archduchess Christiane, and the Duke of *Teschen*.

The 17th Five Battalions of the Enemies Infantry coming from *Jag[illegible]*, attacked our works at *Paffen[illegible]* and *Mofendy[illegible]*, but by the brave resistance and skillfullness of M. Sykaray, Colonel of the *Czekler* Regiment, they were obliged to retire after a cannonading of three hours. Our Artillery under the command of Captain Baron Mes[illegible]zine, distinguished themselves greatly in this Action. We had only one Man and Horse wounded, but the enemy had many, the exact number cannot be ascertained.

At the same time M. Gotz'a a *Prussian* Colonel posted at Franken-stein, came and attacked one Captain Skaell, who, with a detachment of Cavalry was posted in the out skirts of *Reichenstein*, *W[illegible]* and *Re[illegible]*, but although considerably stronger, and supported by a Battalion of Infantry, some Cannon, and a few Horses, was repulsed with the loss of some killed and wounded.

The same Day the two Patroles met near *Rei[illegible]*, and the *D'[illegible]* in Maj. Powletts division, took fourteen Dragoons and a non-commissioned Officer with as many Horses, and we did not meet with the least loss. Lieutenant Field Marshal Count Wormser, during one month's residence in the environs of *Habelschwird* and *Weinschelburgh*, having consumed all his stores, and put the King of *Prussia*, with all his forces at *Silesia* in motion, retired on the 16th, to his old quarters in *Bohemia*, without the least molestation in his retreat, or being pursued by the Enemy. He nevertheless took care to furnish those important Posts *Ruckerts Reinerts* and *Levain* with a sufficient number of Troops, they being a Key to *Bohemia*, by the way of *Glatz*.

Lieut. Col Vandermesch by command of Major Gen. Count *Kinsky*, went with a small detachment against *Wartha*, with intent to burn the Bridge on the *Neiss*, but was obliged to give it up, being overpowered; however he made his retreat with great judgment and honour

We are informed by other advices from *Bohemia*, that on the 17th, of this month, the Enemy with six Battalions of Infantry, six Pieces of Cannon; and seven squadrons of Horse, penetrated as far as the districts of *Braunau*, and there posted themselves after routing a small detachment which they found there, and are since encamped under the walls of the Town.

The 19th. General Wormser with two Battalions and some *Hussars*, marched to meet the Enemy near *Braunau*, and he judged there were 16,000 men. At the same time General Wormser with three Battalions

Hicky's Bengal Gazette: Calcutta, January 29, 1780

THE

CALCUTTA GAZETTE;

OR,

ORIENTAL ADVERTISER.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

VOL. I. THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1784 [No. 1].

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE HON. THE GOVERNOR GENERAL AND COUNCIL, having permitted Mr. FRANCIS GLADWIN to publish a Gazette under their sanction and authority; The Heads of Offices are hereby required to issue all such Advertisements or publications as may be ordered on the part of the Hon. Company through the channel of his Paper. W. BRUERE, Sec.

Fort William,
February 3, 1784.

THE HON. the GOVERNOR GENERAL and COUNCIL, having received two presentments from the Grand Jury, complaining of irregularities, and outrages committed by the seamen belonging to Portugueze Ships;

DO HEREBY require and command all Captains and masters of Portugueze Ships, and other Vessels, to prevent their people from coming on shore, before the hour of seven in the morning, or from remaining in the town after the hour of five in the evening; and it is hereby declared, that if any Portugueze seamen shall be found in the town within the prohibited hours, they will be apprehended by the Superintendant of the police and kept in strict custody, and shall suffer such other punishment as the circumstances under which they may be apprehened shall merit.

By Order of the Hon. the Governor-General and Council,
W. BRUERE, Sec.

Fort William,
Feb. 3, 1784.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that the Hon. the Governor-General and Council, have resolved to keep the treasury open for the receipt of money from individuals for bills upon the Court of Directors, and that it will remain open until the 30th of April next to which period all persons will have liberty to pay in such sums as they may think proper. The bills for money so paid in with such interest as may be due thereon at the rate of 8 per Cent per Annum are to be dated on the first of February 1785, and to be delivered as soon after that date as they can be prepared, at the Exchange of two shillings and one penny per Current Rupee and made payable at three hundred and sixty five days Sight with an option reserved to the Court of Directors to extend the term of payment to one two or three years longer, allowing an Interest of five per Cent. per Annum upon the period of such extension.

By Order of the Hon. the Governor General and Council,
W. BRUERE, Sec.

To be SOLD by Public Auction, at Mess. Williams & Lee's Auction-room,

ON Friday next the 5th Inst. the effects of a gentleman leaving the settlement, consisting of mahogany chairs, bureaus and cloth-presses, a set of handsome dining tables, teapoys, cots, looking glasses, Bell's British Theatre, chair palanquins, riding horses, &c.

Also an exceeding good new Willock, carries from 6 to 700 maunds, a [illegible] of 600 maunds, and one of 300 maunds laying off the old Fort. A quantity of [illegible], [illegible] cloths, and other piece goods from Patna; a few [illegible] of old Batavia arrack, cognac brandy, Jamaica rum, and excellent Madeira wine in bottles. The Sale to begin at 10 o'clock. March 4.

The Calcutta Gazette: Calcutta, March 4, 1784

P. P. Madras

P. P. 9963 c. (3)

MADRAS GAZETTE.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

VOLUME I. *Thursday, January 1, 1795.* NUMBER 1.

IT has been resolved, that all Advertisements which appear under the OFFICIAL SIGNATURE of either of the SECRETARIES of this GOVERNMENT, or of any other Officers of Government properly authorised to publish them in the MADRAS GAZETTE or MADRAS COURIER, are meant, and must be deemed to convey official and sufficient notification of the Board's Orders and Resolutions, in the same Manner as if they were particularly specified to any Servant of the Company, or others to whom such Orders and Resolutions have a Reference.

CIVIL DEPARTMENT, FORT ST. GEORGE; DECEMBER 23 1794.

E. BERT CLERK, *Secretary.*

NEW CONSOLIDATED DEBT.

NOTICE is HEREBY GIVEN, that a Dividend of Eighty Thousand (80,000) Pagodas, will be made on the 10th of January next, to the Private Creditors of His Highness the NABOB of the Carnatic, on the Principle of Distribution which has heretofore obtained, with Respect to those Creditors.

By Order of the Right Honorable the President in Council,

W. C. JACKSON, *Secretary.*

Fort St. George; December 1, 1794.

To the Creditors of His Highness the NABOB of the Carnatic, in the New Consolidated Debt of 1777.

THE Right Hon. the Governor in Council, having been pleased to declare a Dividend of Eighty Thousand (80,000) Pagodas to the Creditors of His Highness the NABOB of the Carnatic, in the New Consolidated Debt of 1777, being Pagodas 1,16,39—[illegible] Per Cent. on account of Interest due for the year 1791.—Notice is hereby given, that the same will be issued on the 10th Jan. next.

In Order to prepare the Dividend Book, the Transfer Book will be shut from the 3d until the 10th of January next.

THOMAS COCKBURN, Register.

Fort St. George: 23d December 1794.

COMPANY's SALT.

NOTICE is HEREBY GIVEN, *that on the twentieth Day of February next, will commence at Covelong, and continue till the whole be disposed of, the Public Sale, by Outcry, of about, 1500 Garce of Salt, more or less, the Manufacture of the two last Seasons.*

For the convenience of Purchasers, the Salt will be put up in Lots of from 20 to 50 Garce, and delivered on the Spot; to be taken away within one Month after Sale.—Payment being previously made.

One Rupee to be paid down on each Lot, to bind the Purchase.

The Salt not paid for, or taken away, by the Date specified for that Purpose, shall be re-sold immediately for Ready Money.—any Profit arising thereon shall belong to the Government, &c. and deficiency to be made good by the first Purchaser.

The Expence of Measuring will be defrayed by the Circar.

L. PLACE, *Collector.*

MASTER ATTENDANT's OFFICE.

NOTICE is HEREBY GIVEN, that Application for Daily Boats wanted for the Use of Vessels in the Roads, must be made at or before 3 o'Clock, every Day, at the Deputy Master Attendant's Office on the Beach, when the Arrangement of the Boats for the succeeding Day, will be made.

Applications for occasional Boats must be made to the Deputy Master Attendant, at his Office, (where constant attendance will be given) either in Writing or Personal, mentioning the Purposes for which the Boats may be required.

W. ABBOTT,
Deputy Master Attendant.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

MARINE STORES.

MARINE STORES of every Description, of the best Qualities, and on the most reasonable Terms, may be had by applying at the Deputy Master Attendant's Office.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

BENGAL LOTTERY TICKETS.

FOR SALE AT MR. J. HUNTER'S, AT ELEVEN PAGODAS EACH.

THE DRAWING of the BENGAL LOTTERY, is unavoidably deferred until the 12th Instant, when it will positively begin, on Account of the Wheels being occupied by another Lottery. To prevent any further Disappointment, the Commissioners of the Lottery have ordered new Wheels to be made.

The Money for paying the Prizes is lodged in the Hindostan Bank.

☞ Few Tickets only remain for Sale.—Fortunate Tickets in the late Madras Lottery will be taken in Exchange.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

SUPERFINE NANKEEN.

MESSRS. WRIGHT and HURST, have for Sale, a few Corge of SUPERFINE NANKEEN.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

CLOCKS and WATCHES.

HUGH GORDON, takes this Opportunity of offering his most grateful Thanks to his Friends and the Public, for their past Favors and begs Leave to inform them that he has now for Sale, a very good Assortment of CLOCKS and WATCHES, made by particular Desire, upon the most improved Principles.

Gold Repeating, Horizontal, and Vertical WATCHES.

ALSO

An elegant Assortment of Jewellery, Silver Plate, &c. of the newest Fashion.

Fort St. George: January 1st 1795.

ORANGE and LIME SHRUB, &c.

M. ARMSTRONG, at his Shrub Manufactory, corner of the North Gate Street, has lately prepared a large Quantity of excellent ORANGE and LIME SHRUB, to be sold at the following reduced Prices; viz.

Large Quart Bottles, at 6½—Pint ditto, at 3½ Pagodas per Dozen.

☞ The number of Orders lately received for SHRUB, is the best Reason he has to recommend it.

ALSO

Stockdale's Claret, at per Dozen, 12 Pagodas,
Brown and Whiteford's ditto, at 10 Pagodas,
Hats, Silk and Cotton Hose, with every other kind of Europe Goods, on the lowest Terms.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

ADVERTISEMENT.

MESSRS. GORDON and HAMILTON, beg Leave to inform the Public, that the CO-PARTNERSHIP, betwixt them and MR. WILLIAM DRING, commences THIS DAY, under the Firm of

DRING, GORDON, AND HAMILTON.

All Accounts prior to this Date, will be adjusted by GORDON and HAMILTON, on Application at their Office.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

TONTINE FOR CHILDREN.

THE Subscribers to the CHILDREN's TONTINE are requested to meet at the Office of Messrs. DRING, GORDON and HAMILTON, on Wednesday, the 13th Instant, at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, for the Purpose of carrying the Plan into Execution, and chusing a Committee conformably to the Proposals.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

TONTINE.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE TONTINE will have to lend on the 4th of January, 1795, 12000 Pagodas on approved security, and the rate of Interest will be moderate—Apply to

JOHN HUNTER, SECRETARY.

THE MOUNT SUBSCRIPTION ASSEMBLY,

IS FIXED FOR

Friday, the 9th Instant,

THE CARNATIC BANK.

NO Business done at the CARNATIC BANK, this Day.

SPORTING INTELLIGENCE.

THE MADRAS RACES will commence on MONDAY, the 19th Instant. The Days of Running, as follows:—

Monday the 19th, the MAIDEN SUBSCRIPTION, 30£ each (P. P.) Weight Nine Stone, One three-mile Heat.—The Subscription will be kept open until the 10th, when it will be Finally closed.

The same Day a PURSE of *Two Hundred Pagodas*, for all untrained Horses, Mares, &c. carrying Nine Stone, the best of Three two-mile Heats.

Wednesday the 21th, the Ladies, Plate, 100£ for all Horses, Mares, &c. Weight for Age and Inches, Fourteen Hands, aged; carrying Nine Stone, the best of Three two-mile Heats.

Saturday, the 24th, 100£ for all Horses, Mares, &c. carrying Nine Stone, the best of Three three-mile Heats.

☞ The Running according to the King's Plate Articles:—any difference that may eventually arise, will be settled by the decision of the Committee.

All Horses to be entered Six Days prior to each respective Day of Running, paying Five Pagodas entrance, or double at the POST: the Entrance Money to compose a SWEEP-STAKE, for a second Race on the last Day, free for all untrained Horses, Mares, &c. that never won Plate, Purse, or Sweep-stake, one three-mile Heat, catch weights: the Horses intended for the Sweep-stake, must be entered the day before, as none will be permitted to enter at the POST.

The Clerk of the Course will open a Match Book for the Purpose of registering Horses, &c. for the Maiden Subscription, matched or entered, for the ensuing Meeting.

RACE STAND,
January 1, 1795.

BENJ. FREND,
CLERK OF THE COURSE.

RACE STAND.

THE high ground, near Balleback being in excellent order, covered with a fine Turf, no Horse whatever is to take Exercise on the Course, which has already suffered from the number of Horses in Training—whenever the Course shall be required for Trials, application is to be made to the Clerk of the Course, who will grant Permission, and hoist the flag as a Caution to prevent improper Observation.

B. FREND,
Clerk of the Course.

TRICHINOPOLY RACES.

On Monday the 2d of February, 1795.

A Subscription Purse of Twenty Star Pagodas each, for all Horses, (Arabs excepted) carrying nine Stone, Mares and Geldings allowed three Pounds, the best of three two mile heats—This Subscription to close seven days before running, or pay double at the Post.

On Wednesday the 4th, the Trichinopoly Give and Take Plate, of two hundred and fifty Pagodas, for all horses fourteen hands, aged, carrying nine Stone, Entrance five Pagodas.

On Friday the 6th the Tanjore Plate of two hundred and fifty Pagodas, for all horses carrying ten Stone, the best of three two mile heats, entrance five Pagodas.

N. B. Three Pounds allowed for Mares and Geldings, the Horses to be entered for the Plates six days before running, or to pay double at the Post.

RICHARD DRUMMOND,
Clerk of the Course.

TO BE LET OR SOLD,

A VERY SPACIOUS UPPER ROOMED HOUSE, situate in Stringer Street.

ALSO,

A capital UPPER ROOMED GARDEN HOUSE, at the Luz, commanding a very extensive Prospect, and in a healthy situation.—

AND

A delightful GARDEN HOUSE, opposite Mr. Cassin's House, West of St. Thomé.—

For Particulars of the Houses, enquire of Mr. J. J. Durand, Stringer Street.

WILLIAM LEAMY

HAS the Pleasure to inform his Friends and the Public, that his INVESTMENT of CHINA GOODS, per the GANJAVA, *Captain Barner*, arrived here on the 30th Ultimo, and is NOW LANDING, and will be exposed for sale at LEAMY's GODOWNS in the EXCHANGE, so soon as the GOODS can be assorted:—They consist of the following Articles; viz.

Fine Stone China Ware, in Table and Tea Setts,
Elegant Painted do. do. do.
Common China Ware, of every Description,
Superior fine Pearl Tea, in Packages from 2 to 25 Catties,
Best Hyson Tea, in Boxes, with Canisters, Locks, and Keys, from 6 to 20 Catties,
Fine Souchong Tea, in 2 and 10 Catty Packages,
Superior China new Sugar, in Tubs and Half Tubs,
An elegant and extensive Assortment of fine Silks, Ribbons, Gauzes, &c. of various kinds,
White and Brown Nankeens, broad and narrow,
Fine Chinchew grass Cloth, Boglipores and Waistcoat Pieces,
Elegant Ivory and Sandal-wood Fans,
Sattin and silk Kittysols,
Fish and Counters, with Card Boxes,
A large and elegant Assortment of Lackered Ware, Consisting of Tea Caddies, Tea Boards, Waiters, Ladies Work Baskets, Dressing Tables &c.
Paintings on Canvas, and large China Figures,
A large assortment of Floor Matts, plain and chequered,
Boxes Containing 6 Jars of various Pickles,
Soy in Quart Bottles,
Hams, Single, and in Boxes 10 each,
Preserved Ginger, Citron, Pears, and Chow Chow, in Jars,
Fine Nankeen, Honey in Jars,
Large and small preserved Oranges,
Fire Works, Lockfor and Toys,
Bamboo and Rosewood Furniture,
Rhubarb, &c.
Fine Malacca Matts,
Stationary of all Kinds. Picture Frames and various other Articles.

WILLIAM LEAMY having admitted MR. JOHN REYNOLDS a PARTNER in Trade, the Business will, in future, be conducted under the Firm of

LEAMY AND REYNOLDS.

January 1, 1795.

CHINA INVESTMENT.

MR. R. HENDERSON begs leave to inform the Public, that he has received a consignment of China Goods, per the CARRON, consisting of Hyson Tea, Sugar Candy, Hams, China Ware, and broad Brown Nankeen, which is exposed for sale at his Godown in the Fort.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

EUROPE INVESTMENT.

WADDEL AND STEWART have for sale, Madeira Wine in Pipes and Bottles, Claret, from Stockdale, and Brown and Whiteford; Arrack in Leaguers; Brandy in Casks and Bottles; Pale Ale and Porter in Casks and Bottles; Pickles, Sauces, Hams and Cheese.

A quantity of handsome Cloths and Cassimeres, Waistcoat Pieces, Muslinets and Dimities; Bust Cloaks and Blankets, Ladies Beaver Hats with Trimmings, Chip Hats and Bonnets, and Ladies Shoes.

Perfumery from Smyth and Nephew, and Briftow and Madley; Stationary and Drawing Paper.

A small assortment of Books, Saddles, Sets of Harness for four Horses, pairs, and single.

An elegant Chariot and Phaeton, spare Carriage Wheels, Main-Braces and Pole-Pieces, fine Cutlery, Officers Fuzees and Accoutrements complete, a capital Organ with Pipe and Tabor.

ALSO

An elegant assortment of MILLENARY, consisting of Bonnets, half and full dress Caps, Dresses, &c. &c.

Fort St. George: 1st January, 1795.

WADDEL AND STEWART,

TAKE this Opportunity of returning their most grateful Thanks to their Friends and the Publick, for the liberal Support they have hitherto experienced in their line of Business, and beg leave to inform them, that from this Day, they take into the firm of their Co-Partnership MR. JAMES RANNIE, and hope from an unremitted attention to the Business of their joint Concern, to merit a continuance of the Publick favor.

MESSRS. WADDEL and STEWART, have laid in a well chosen Assortment of Europe Articles, in Wines, Liquors, &c. both at Madras, and at their House at Trichinopoly, and they trust it will be in their power to afford general Satisfaction to such Gentlemen, as may be pleased to honour them with their Commands: they cannot but at this opportunity return their unfeigned thanks to those Gentlemen, who have been pleased to appoint them their Agents, for the execution of such Commissions which they have had at this Presidency and elsewhere, and beg leave to assure them that every attention will be paid by them to the promotion of the advantage of their Constituents.

AS WADDEL AND STEWART are desirous of settling their former Concern, so as it may not interfere with the present, they entreat that those Gentlemen who may be indebted to them, (and who may not find it convenient to discharge such Amounts at present,) will have the goodness to transmit Notes for the several Ballances which they may stand indebted at this Period, which will be thankfully acknowledged.

Fort St. George: 31st December, 1794.

FOR FREIGHT.

THE GOOD SNOW PHOENIX,

Henry Hallfon, commander,

WILL sail from this Port, on or before the 10th Instant, and touch at CORINGA, VIZAGAPATAM, and GANJAM.

Fort St. George: January 1, 1795.

Madras Gazette: Madras, January 1, 1795

THE

ORIENTAL COMMERCIAL REGISTER,

AND

East India Price Current.

VOL. I.] APRIL 2, 1818. [No. I.

PUBLISHED ON THE 1ST AND 15TH OF EVERY MONTH AT THE CALCUTTA TIMES PRESS, WHERE ALL HINTS TO IMPROVE, AND INFORMATION TO PROMOTE, THE OBJECTS OF THE PUBLICATION, ADDRESSED TO THE EDITOR OF THIS WORK, WILL BE THANKFULLY RECEIVED.

Calcutta Price Current,

APRIL 2, 1818.

METALS.

		Rs. As.	Rs. As
Anchors and Grapnels (Europe)	per cwt.	13 ,, to	15 ,,
Copper Sheet 10 to 18 oz.	per Fy. Md.	41 ,, to	41 8
20 Oz. and upwards,	per ditto ditto	41 ,, to	41 8
Nails, ...	per ditto ditto,	40 ,, to	42 ,,
Slab, ...	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	42 ,,
Japan, ...	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	43 ,,
Bolt, ...	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	40 ,,
Iron Bolt..........	per Bazar Maund,	,, ,,	3 ,,
Flat Swedish, ..	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	6 ,,
Square Swedish,	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	4 ,,
Flat British, ..	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	3 8
Square British,	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	3 4
Hoops, ...	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	4 6
Iron Nails Europe 4 Inches and under - -	pr. do. do.	5 12 to	9 ,,
Above 4 Inches,	per ditto ditto,	5 ,, to	5 12
At Public Auctions within the last week 1 to 9 Inches,	per cwt.	5 12 to	11 ,,
Lead Sheet, ...	per Fy. Maund,	6 ,, to	6 10
Pig, ...	per ditto ditto,	7 ,, to	7 4
Steel, ..	per Bazar Maund,	8 ,, to	9 ,,
Tin Sheet, ...	per Box,	,, ,,	18 ,,
Block, ..	per Fy. Maund,	,, ,,	26 ,,
Tutenague, ...	per ditto ditto,	,, ,,	25 ,,

GRAIN.

Doll first quality, ..	per Bazar Maund,	2 ,, to	2 4
Second ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,	1 5 to	2 ,,
Gram Patna, ...	per ditto ditto,	1 10 to	1 12
Moong, ...	per ditto ditto,	2 12 to	3 ,,
Peas, ...	per ditto ditto,	1 ,, to	1 4
Rice Patcherry or Table, Old	per do. do.	3 ,, to	3 4
ditto ditto ditto New	per do. do.	1 12 to	2 8
Moonghee or Cargo,	per do. do.	1 8 to	1 9
Balam or ditto,	per ditto ditto,	1 7 to	1 8
Inferior Cargo,	par ditto ditto,	1 4 to	1 6
Wheat Doodea or first quality,	pr. do. do.	2 2 to	2 5
Gungajelly or second do.	pr do.	1 10 to	1 12

DYES, &c.

Cochineal, ...		none	
Lak Dye, ...	per Bazar Maund,	30 ,, to	40 ,,
Lak Lake, ...	per ditto ditto,	18 ,, to	20 ,,
Red Wood, ..	per ditto ditto,	1 12 to	2 4
Safflower, first quality,	per ditto ditto,	19 ,, to	19 8
Second ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,	17 8 to	18 ,,
Shell Lak, first quality,	per ditto ditto,	18 ,, to	19 ,,
Second ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,	15 ,, to	16 ,,
Stick Lak Pegue, ..	per ditto ditto,	none	
Bengal, ...	per ditto ditto,	6 8 to	7 ,,
Turmerick, ...	per Bazar Maund,	3 ,, to	3 8
Indigo, Blue, ...	per ditto ditto,	150 ,, to	175 ,,
Blue and Violet,	per ditto ditto,	150 ,, to	175 ,,
Purple and Violet,	per ditto do.	150 ,, to	175 ,,
Fine Violet, ..	per ditto ditto,	130 ,, to	145 ,,
Good Ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,	110 ,, to	120 ,,
Fine Violet & Copper,	pr. do. do.	110 ,, to	115 ,,
Good ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,	110 ,, to	115 ,,
Good Copper, ..	per ditto ditto,	95 ,, to	105 ,,
Middling ditto,	per ditto ditto,	75 ,, to	90 ,,
Very Inferior, ..	per ditto ditto,	60 ,, to	70 ,,

DRUGS

		Rs. As.	Rs. As
Assafœtida, ..	per Bazar Seer,	2 ,, to	3 ,,
Allum, ...	per ditto Maund,	4 ,, to	4 8
Arsenic, ...	per ditto ditto,	12 ,, to	15 ,,
Benjamin first quality for the Europe Market,	pr. do. do.	80 ,, to	85 ,,
Second quality,	per ditto ditto,	30 ,, to	35 ,,
Third ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,	12 ,, to	15 ,,
Borax, ...	per ditto ditto,	15 ,, to	18 ,,
Camphire, ...	per ditto ditto,	56 ,, to	60 ,,
Gall Nuts, ...	per ditto ditto,	none	
Opium Patna, ...	per Chest,	2,100	
Benares, ...	per ditto,	2050	
Quick Silver, ...	per Bazar Seer,	2 8 to	2 12
Sal Ammoniac, ...	per ditto Maund,	22 ,, to	25 ,,
Sulphur, ...	per ditto ditto,	4 ,, to	6 8

SPICES.

Cinnamon, ...		none	
Cloves, ...	per Bazar Seer,	3 8 to	3 12
Cardimums Malabar, ..	per ditto ditto,	3 ,, to	3 6
Country, ..	per ditto Maund,	13 12 to	14 8
Cassia, ..	per ditto ditto,	50 ,, to	55 ,,
Buds, ..	per ditto ditto,	none	
Chillies, ...	per ditto ditto,	6 ,, to	7 8
Ginger, ...	per ditto ditto,	5 ,, to	7 ,,
Long Pepper, ...	per ditto ditto,	10 ,, to	11 ,,
Ditto Root, ..	per ditto ditto,		9 ,,
Mace, ...	per ditto Seer,	7 ,, to	8 ,,
Mustard Seed, .	per ditto Maund,		3 6
Nutmegs, ...	per ditto Seer,	6 ,, to	7 4
Pepper, ..	per ditto Maund,	18 ,, to	20 0

TIMBERS AND PLANKS.

Pegue Teak Mast pieces, Keel pieces, Duggies, — Prices according to their sizes and qualities, and though not in particular demand, may be quoted as saleable at a moderate advance upon the Cost.

Shinbin	each,	11 ,, to	14 ,,
Sheathing Boards, ..	per Corge,	10 ,, to	12 ,,
Saul Timbers Chouker or first quality	each,	33 ,, to	45 ,,
Dokur or second ditto, ...	ditto,	12 ,, to	18 ,,
Crooked, ...	ditto,	8 ,, to	18 ,,
Sissoo Timbers first quality, ..	ditto,	7 ,, to	10 ,,
Second ditto, ...	ditto,	4 ,, to	6 ,,

RAW SILK.

Rampurbaulea 1st quality, adapted for the Europe Market,	per Pucka Seer,	12 4 to	12 8
Ditto ditto second quality,	pr. do. do.		11 ,,
Ditto third quality adapted for the Madras and Bombay Market,	pr. do. do.		10 ,,
Commercolly first quality, ..	per do. do.	none	
Second ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,		
Third ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,		
Radanagore, first ditto,	per ditto ditto,		12 8
Second ditto, ..	per ditto ditto,		11 8
Third ditto, ...	per ditto ditto,		10 8
Chouja, .. - -		none	

The Oriental Commercial Register and East India Price Current:
Calcutta, April 2, 1818

Some general conclusions may be drawn about the Press of the time from a study of available documents:—

1. That no newspapers were published until 1780 because the Company's establishments in India were a close preserve, and the Company's servants by common consent wished to withhold from Leadenhall Street the evils and malpractices arising from "private trading" in which all of them, almost without exception, freely indulged.

2. That the first newspapers were started by disgruntled ex-employees of the Company.

3. That they were aided and abetted by servants of the Company who used these newspapers for the furtherance of their personal rivalries and jealousies.

4. That the apprehension was that these newspapers might reach London rather than that they might have any adverse effect in Bengal. The circulation of newspapers published in this period never exceeded a hundred or two hundred and there was no danger of public opinion being subverted. It is known that only spare copies of newspapers published in the territory of one establishment reached other establishments and that very occasionally. The first exchange of newspapers was between Calcutta and Bombay in October 1786 when James Hatley, Secretary in Bombay, wrote to Secretary Bruere at Fort William, Calcutta, saying that the Hon'ble the President in Council wished the request to be conveyed to the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council that the printers of the *Bengal Gazette* should be ordered to send them a copy of the paper regularly by land or sea. In July 1793 John Morris, the then Secretary at Bombay Castle, sent two copies of the *Bombay Courier* to Secretary Hay at Fort William with the assurance that they would be regularly transmitted. The request was repeated that a set of Government newspapers published from Bengal should be sent to Bombay weekly by post.

5. That while some editors incurred the displeasure of important officials from the very beginning, and some others made no beginning at all for that reason, other editors were encouraged, financed and provided with material and other aid by influential senior officials of the Company.

CHAPTER II—RESTRICTION & RELAXATION

Emergency Powers.—The first two decades of the 19th century saw the imposition of rigid control of the Press by the Marquess of Wellesley and relaxation by the Marquess of Hastings. There was difference of opinion on what the official attitude towards the Press in India should be at the highest level both in India and in London. The Marquess of Wellesley looked upon himself as the dominant ruler in India whose authority was challenged in different ways and in different spheres by Tipoo Sultan, the French and the European community in Calcutta. He was determined that no quarter and no advantage by way of information should be given to Tipoo Sultan. He was equally determined that the European community in Calcutta should be put in its place. Provocation came from the able editor of the *Asiatic Mirror* who published some estimated figures giving the strength of the European and the native population. Wellesley who regarded this speculation as likely to start trouble in the rear while he was engaged in a fight with Tipoo Sultan wrote to the Commander-in-Chief promising to lay down "rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors" and advising him to suppress the editors of mischievous papers by force and send them off to Europe (April 1799). The Press regulations followed the next month and required a newspaper to carry in imprint the name of the printer, the editor and proprietor, to declare themselves to the Secretary to the Government and to submit all material published in the paper to his prior scrutiny. Publication on Sunday was prohibited. The prescribed punishment for breach of these rules was immediate deportation. The Secretary was vested with the powers of a censor. By a separate set of rules he was required to exclude from newspapers information in regard to the movement of ships or the embarkation of troops, stores or specie, all speculation in regard to relations between the Company and any of the native powers, information likely to be of use to the enemy and comments likely to excite alarm or commotion within the Company's territories. In addition, he was to exclude all comment on the state of public credit, or revenues, or the finances of the Company, or on the conduct of Government officers, as also private scandal or libels on individuals. He was also required not to permit the publication of extracts from European newspapers which were likely to constitute a breach of the above restrictions. Strangely

enough the seven newspapers in Calcutta complied without demur and the various declarations filed give us a complete record of the ownership and conduct of the papers of the time:—

Name of the Paper	Proprietor	Editor	Printer
1. Bengal Harkaru	William Hunter	William Hunter	Urquart
2. *Morning Post	Archibald Thompson, Paul Ferris & Morely Greenway	Archibald Thompson, Paul Ferris & Morely Greenway	Archibald Thomp son, Paul Ferris & Morely Geenway
3. Telegraph	Holt McKenly and H. D. Wilson	Holt McKenly	..
4. Calcutta Courier	Thomas Hollingbery & Robert Khellen	..	Thomas Hollingbery & Robert Khellen
5. Oriental Star	Richard Fleming	Richard Fleming	John Johnson
6. India Gazette	William Morris, William Farrlie & J. D. Williams	..	..
7. Asiatic Mirror	Charles K. Bruce & John Schoolbred	Charles K. Bruce	..

*Bush, the editor, had resigned.

All the persons concerned agreed to comply with the rules and regulations of the Government. Curiously enough, however, while the rules were fully approved by the Court of Directors, the Rt. Hon'ble H. Dundas, President of the Board of Control, deleted the sentences expressing approval of Lord Wellesley's action, and Lord Wellesley himself directed the editor of his official despatches to leave out this despatch on the Indian Press. The inference which may be drawn is that Lord Wellesley assumed comprehensive powers in anticipation of a possible emergency.

At this time the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore were refused permission to set up a press and soon after Wellesley decided that the most effective way of silencing the existing presses was for the Government to have a press of its own and print an official gazette and newspaper. ment to have a press its own and print an official gazette and newspaper. But the decision was not implemented because of the expense.

It was soon found that newspapers were not submitting to pre-censorship with any regularity, that military information was being published and that books and pamphlets were being printed and published in the presses containing information which it was forbidden to publish in the newspapers. Prohibitory instructions were sent to the editors of six out of the seven newspapers. Other restrictions were imposed on the Press and all public meetings were banned by order of the Governor-General-in-Council (April 9, 1807). The rigid restrictions imposed on the Press led to the publication of a spate of pamphlets which bore neither the name of the author nor the printer and an instruction was issued requiring all presses to publish the name of the printer on all literature printed at, or issuing from, a press. Some of these pamphlets emanated from the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore who attacked the

religious beliefs of the Hindus and the Muslims. Lord Minto who was then the Governor-General, thought these pamphlets provocative and ordered the Baptists to move their press to Calcutta but they appealed against the order on ground of expense and promised to submit their publications for approval by the Government before they were circulated. The Madras order on pamphlets was even more stringent and printing presses were required to submit the manuscripts of all their publications before they were printed.

When Lord Hastings took over from Lord Minto in 1813, newspapers in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were well under control, with Madras leading in the matter of the stringency of the regulations and Bombay and Calcutta following not very far behind. Lord Hastings issued a brief instruction requiring all printing presses to submit proof sheets of newspapers, supplements, extra publications, notices, handbills and other ephemeral publications to the Chief Secretary for scrutiny and revision. The order made it clear that the rules of 1799 and the order of 1801 would remain in force except in so far as their operation was modified by the instructions enumerated above. Lord Hastings' order was generally interpreted by the Press as a measure relaxing the earlier restrictions. Later events were to show that they were not wrong in their estimate of the Governor-General's intentions.

Between 1813 and 1818 there were significant developments in the field of newspaper publication. By the Charter Act of 1813 the Anglican and the Presbyterian churches were established under licence in India and the Rev. Thomas Fanshaw Middleton came to India as the first Lord Bishop of Calcutta and the Rev. Samuel James Bryce as the first Presbyterian Minister. Bryce acquired the *Asiatic Mirror* (1814) and the writings in that journal (editor: James Ralph) led to a series of bitter exchanges between Bryce and the Chief Secretary, John Adam. The first Indian newspaper published by Gangadhar Bhattacharjee, the *Bengal Gazette*, came into existence but lived for only one year. In 1818 John Burton and James Mackenzie secured permission to publish a newspaper under the name of the *Guardian*. Permission was granted to publish the paper on Sunday after an assurance had been given that the work of the press will be completed on Saturday night and that moral matters would take precedence over all others. The Serampore Missionaries started three journals: the *Dig-Durshan*, a monthly magazine in Bengali, the *Samachar Durpan*, a weekly Bengali paper and *Friend of India*, a monthly periodical, published in English which was followed two years later by a quarterly of the same name. The last two journals ceased publication in 1827 owing to financial difficulties. The *Samachar Durpan*, however, continued publication till 1840. Besides serving as a vehicle for the propagation of their faith by the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore it also carried a vast store of information from 60 stations in the Zillas of Bengal. The Marquess of Hastings allowed the *Durpan* the concession of paying only one-fourth of the usual amount of postage and his successor Lord Amherst subscribed for a hundred copies which were distributed to Government offices. It was widely patronised by the leading functionaries of the Government and the chief civilians in the mofussil who subscribed to it for the valuable information it carried about their districts, information which could not be obtained through official channels. Indians who contributed to the journal did so because of its official circulation.

John Adam, the Chief Secretary, was taken ill and William Butterworth Bayley, the acting Chief Secretary, took over the duties of Press Censor. Bayley soon after taking over came into conflict with one Heatly whose father was a European British subject and whose mother was a native of India. Heatly was the proprietor-editor of the *Morning Post,* a Calcutta newspaper, from whose columns Bayley wished to exclude certain passages in an article submitted to him with others for precensorship. Heatly remonstrated and, finally, refused to comply, claiming that no action could be taken against him as he was a native of India. Bayley represented that the Press Censor was powerless in dealing with an editor who was "Indian born". Lord Hastings' reaction was to abolish press-censorship altogether and to throw on the editors themselves the responsibility for excluding matter likely to affect the authority of the Government or to be injurious to the public interest.

Regulations to this effect were issued on August 19, 1818.

"Relying on the prudence and discretion of the editors for their careful observance of these rules, the Governor-General-in-Council is pleased to dispense with their submitting their papers to an officer of government previous to publication. The editors will however be held personally accountable for whatever they may publish in contravention of the rules now committed, or which may be otherwise at variance with the general principles of British law as established in this country, and will be proceeded against in such manner as the Governor-General-in-Council may deem applicable to the nature of the offence, for any deviation from them.

"The Editors are further required to lodge in the Chief Secretary's Office one copy of every newspaper, periodical, or extra, published by them respectively.

J. Adam

19th Aug. 1818. Chief Secretary to the Govt.

The rules themselves were as follows:

"The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads, viz. First: Animadversions on the Measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India: or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the Members of Council, of the judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

Second: Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances.

Third: The republication, from English or other newspapers, of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

Fourth: Private scandal, and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissention in Society."

About this time two dominating personalities made their appearance on the newspaper scene, James Silk Buckingham and Raja Ram Mohan Roy, both men of vision, the former vigorous, dominating and relentless and the latter patient, persistent and polite. Both were destined to play a significant part in the fight for the freedom of the Press and both attracted the staunchest supporters from among their countrymen and, at the same time, provoked the bitterest antagonism.

James Silk Buckingham attracted attention on his first appearance when as commander of a vessel detailed to convoy some ships, carrying slaves from the coast of Madagascar, surrendered his command in protest. This commendable action earned recognition for him as a man of principle in the eyes of all in Calcutta, including the Governor-General and the Bishop. The appearance of James Silk Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal* with 8 pages published twice a week, the editor's functions described as being "to admonish Governors of their duties, to warn them furiously of their faults and to tell disagreeable truths," and with the correspondence columns open to all who had a grievance, threw existing newspapers in Calcutta into utter confusion. Buckingham edited his paper fearlessly till 1823, when he was deported, and kept it alive even while he was in England where he started another paper, the *Oriental Herald* in which he relentlessly pursued the exposure of the administration in India. As Member of Parliament in 1832 he strongly opposed the Bill for the renewal of the Company's Charter on the ground that any purchaser in England of £500 of the Company's stock wielded more influence with the Government of India than the most able Indian. Earlier he had himself acquired some stock in the East India Company and with it the right to speak at meetings of the proprietors of the Company. Again in 1853, when a Select Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to enquire into the operation of the India Act, Buckingham in a spirited submission advocated the abolition of the Court of Directors and the proclamation in India of the sovereignty of Queen Victoria who, he urged, should be represented by a Viceroy. The Board of Control and the Court of Directors should, he affirmed, be replaced by a Secretary of State for India with sole responsibility for the Government of India. He also advocated an elected Indian Legislature composed of an equal number of Indians and Englishmen and the recruitment to the Indian Civil Service by open competition instead of by nomination. Nothing is further from the truth than the charge levelled against Buckingham that he was an adventurer without scruple and interested only in his self-advancement and the ventilation of his personal grievances.

Ram Mohan Roy was, on the other hand, essentially a social and religious reformer. The passion for truth which he seems to have developed at the early age of 14, marked him out as a person head and shoulders above others of his generation. His early discussions with his father which brought him no mental peace, his visit at the age of 15 to distant parts of India and to Tibet in search of answers to his questions and his extraordinary reticence about his experiences during this period of his life, show that it was with him not merely a personal attitude but a tremendous force which he, perhaps, could not himself explain or subdue and which urged him on his quest. He encountered opposition early from the people nearest to him, which probably explains why although he was firm and determined in the pursuit of his ideals and in the assertion of the principles which he set for himself, he was always polite, patient and even respectful in the language he used to answer his critics. He was a brilliant conversationalist, patient in debates and persuasive rather than controversial in the many tracts and books he published largely at his own expense. The weeklies and periodicals of the day gladly accepted his contributions thereby acknowledging his sincerity of purpose. His incursion into journalism, the *Brahmanical Magazine* published in English, the *Sambad Kaumudi* in Bengali and the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* in Persian were only an essay to propa-

gate the truth and have it tested in the light of discussion. His conception of freedom of the Press was freedom to pursue the truth and to evolve a way of life proved by the test of reason. His simple representation on the freedom of the Press and the duty of the ruler to preserve it at all costs and at all times cannot be improved upon:

Every good ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the World, must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and, therefore, he will be anxious to afford every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestricted liberty of publication is the only effectual means that can be employed. And should it ever be abused, the established law of the land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who may be found guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of Government, which are effectually guarded by the same laws to which individuals must look for protection of their reputation and good name.

Two facts stand out in Ram Mohan Roy's life. First, that he was distressed by the opposition he encountered from his people who influenced his own family against him, involved him in endless and harassing litigation and scurrilously attacked him in his personal life. The Bengali weekly suffered temporary extinction when its editor left as a protest against Ram Mohan Roy's agitation for the abolition of *sati,* and that and every measure of social reform was thereafter opposed by the rival orthodox newspaper, the *Samachar Chandrika.* The social reform movement started by Raja Ram Mohan Roy gained considerable strength in his lifetime and after his death so long as it was sustained by his near supporters but it lost its force to the rising tide of orthodoxy. It cannot be denied, however, that it was Ram Mohan Roy who successfully defended Hinduism against the onslaughts of the Christian missionaries of Serampore. His defence of his faith was gladly accepted by his orthodox co-religionists. But when he called for a purification of the faith, its restoration to its original glory and for reform in the social sphere he was denounced and repudiated.

The experience of Ram Mohan Roy made such a deep impression on the leaders that followed him that Aurobindo Ghosh who later sought refuge from politics in religious contemplation writes as follows:—

"Political freedom is the life-breath of a nation: to attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion, the moral improvement of the race without aiming first and foremost at political freedom, is the very height of ignorance".

James Silk Buckingham was a close friend and admirer of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and it would appear that the two spent many evenings together discussing matters of common interest. Their association was in striking contrast to the background of the Indian-owned press and the British-owned Press functioning in exclusive and water-tight compartments. Each in his own sphere took up the struggle for the freedom of the Press and has left a significant and indelible mark on the history of journalism in India.

Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal* with the first issue was acknowledged the best produced newspaper in the establishment both for its content and presentation. He was as good as his word about the exposure of evils in the administration. He spared no one but his criticisms were well founded. The *Asiatic Mirror* engaged the new journal in a controversy which ended with the closure of the *Mirror* (Editor: Reverend Samuel James Bryce).

The last of a succession of Buckingham's attacks was directed against the Bishop of Calcutta, in which it was complained that divine service and other religious observances had not been held in Calcutta during the Christmas season because the Chaplains were away on "matrimonial requisitions." When Buckingham was asked to divulge the name of the writer he evaded the question and expressed the hope that publication might be productive of good. He was warned by return that if he persisted in his policy he would without previous discussion be deprived of his licence to reside in India. Buckingham protested and his policy continued unchanged, his paper grew in popularity and the rivals faded into the background. Started as a bi-weekly, within the space of three years, it developed into the first daily newspaper of Calcutta. In 1821 certain employees of the Company announced the publication of *John Bull in the East* with the object of upholding the principles of civil and social order. It was obviously intended as an answer to the *Calcutta Journal* and Buckingham's old adversary, the Rev. Samuel James Bryce, was appointed editor. The two newspapers engaged in lively controversy.

In the many encounters with the Government the three Members of Council, John Adam, John Fendell and William Butterworth Bayley were resolute opponents of Buckingham and only Lord Hastings stood in the way of his deportation. John Adam inspired a criminal libel suit against Buckingham for commenting that if grievances brought to the notice of the Government through the Press were not to be given a hearing then only those who enjoyed the favour of Secretaries and Public officers would secure redress of their grievances. The prosecution failed but it cost Buckingham £600. Soon after an army officer was deported from the country for writing an "objectionable" letter to the *Calcutta Journal.* Adam renewed his campaign against Buckingham but the Governor-General was adamant and refused to yield. Again Buckingham criticised the appointment of Dr. Jameson as Superintendent of the Medical School for Indians on the ground that as he already held three other appointments, he could not discharge the duties of all the four posts. Jameson was furious. Adam renewed his demand for Buckingham's deportation, his colleagues Fendell and Bayley supported him and again Hastings politely refused to yield. But Hastings' tenure came to an end and by a succession of circumstances, perhaps not altogether fortuitous John Adam succeeded him on January 13th. 1823. Buckingham's fate was sealed. As Governor-General, Adam appointed the Rev. Samuel James Bryce as Clerk of the Stationery at £600 per annum. Buckingham attacked the appointment and John Adam revoked his licence as he certainly would have done even without the provocation. In a farewell statement Buckingham said that he left the shores of India "in peace with all mankind". He might have acknowledged his debt to Lord Hastings whose forbearance had made it possible for him to fulfil his mission. For the shadow of Buckingham was to hang heavily over the Company's administration of India for 35 long years during which the freedom of the Press was often restricted but never permanently curbed and at the end of which the East India Company was relieved of its responsibilities.

It should not be assumed from the foregoing that the opposition with which Buckingham had to contend was not formidable. John Adam was an administrator of considerable ability and integrity. He was the son

of the Lord High Commissioner of Scotland and had worked his way up through sheer energy and ability from the lowest position in the Company's service to that of Governor-General. He stood firm by his convictions and it would appear, had the unqualified support of the Court of Directors in his attitude towards the Press. It is apparent from the comprehensive restrictions imposed on the editors while absolving them of the condition of submitting to pre-censorship, that Lord Hastings was fully aware of the fact that the total withdrawal of all restrictions would not have the approval of the Court of Directors. In Bombay, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor, gave unmistakable indication of his reaction by insisting that it should be made clear that the editor who infringed the rules would be dealt with summarily, and deported.

There were two views about the new regulations. The Press believed that they made for greater freedom. A small section shared with Sir John Malcolm the view that they imposed such comprehensive restrictions on the editor that it would be almost impossible for him to function without the help of pre-censorship. This school of thought agreed, however, that the office of censor was an invidious one. Its abolition was supported with an example from New South Wales, in which an editor successfully pleaded immunity from legal action on the ground that he had submitted to pre-censorship the article which was the subject of action. The liability of the Press Censor for the libel was established, though the action was later dropped. Lord Hasting's attitude, however, was not long in doubt and his minutes made it clear that he was impressed by the importance of fostering in the administration a responsive attitude towards public opinion.

Once again there was difference of opinion in London between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The Court disapproved of the Governor-General's action without reservation and, in a despatch, directed him "to revert to the practice which had prevailed for nearly 20 years previous to 1818, and continue the same in force until you shall have submitted to us, and we shall have approved and sanctioned, some other system of responsibility or control, adapted alike to all our Presidencies in India." One may infer from this that the attitude of Bombay and Madras was not favourable to Lord Hastings' intention. The despatch never reached the Governor-General because the Board of Control, to whom it was referred for sanction, neither returned the draft nor addressed any communication to the Court until three years later (April 7, 1820 till July 8, 1823) when it returned the draft with its disapproval.

In the interval, Lord Hastings held his position with confidence and in May, 1829, he was presented with an address by the leading officials and merchants including the Chief Justice and Judge of the Supreme Court, the Law Officers, the Chief Judge of the Sudder Adaulat, leading residents of Hyderabad, Nagpur and Madras and the Company's senior officials. The address paid an unqualified tribute to the Governor-General's enlightened rule and emphasised the point that the most effective safeguard of good government was full freedom of discussion which would serve to strengthen the hands of the administration. "Such freedom of discussion", the address went on to affirm, "was the gift of a liberal and enlightened mind; and an invaluable and unequivocal expression of those sentiments evinced by the whole tenor of your Lordship's administration".

In his reply, Lord Hastings made public the intentions he had already expressed in his minutes:

"My removal of restrictions from the Press has been mentioned in laudatory language. I might easily have adopted that procedure without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow subjects, to be narrowed only by special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no direct necessity for these invidious shackles might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however, to have been guided in the step by a positive and well weighed policy. If our motives or actions are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an empire, our hold on which is opinion.

Further, it is salutary for Supreme authority even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of public scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose none of its strength by its exposure to general comment. On the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force. That Government which has nothing to disguise, wields the most powerful instrument that can appertain to sovereign rule. It carries with it the united reliance and effort of the whole mass of the governed—and let the triumph of our beloved country, in its aweful contest with tyrant-ridden France, speak the value of a spirit to be found only in men accustomed to indulge and express their honest sentiments".

It is evident from all this that Lord Hastings alone stood in the way of action against Buckingham and that John Adam took immediate advantage of the opportunity to deport Buckingham the moment it came. In a statement explaining his decision the Governor-General (John Adam) recorded his objection "to the assumption by an editor of a newspaper of the privilege of sitting in judgement on the acts of Government and bringing public measures and the conduct of public men as well as the conduct of private individuals, before the bar of what Mr. Buckingham and his associates miscall public opinion." Mr. Adam's contention was that the European community in India, constituted as it was, could not claim the right to control the actions of the Government and he was of the view that it would only result in stimulating party animosity and violence in this limited society besides weakening the authority of the Government. He did not, however, dispute the general principle that public measures should be submitted to public scrutiny.

While the Buckingham affair was developing, Raja Ram Mohan Roy's weekly, *Sambad Kaumudi*, came into existence. There is conflict of opinion on the precise date and by whom this paper was founded.

Mrs. Barnes records in her book *The Indian Press* that the paper was founded in December 1820 by Bhowani Charan Banerjee, and taken over later by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Rev. J. Long in a note submitted to the Government in 1859 on "The Past Condition and Future Prospects of the Vernacular Press of Bengal" records that Raja Ram Mohan Roy started the paper in 1819 with Bhowani Charan Banerjee as the editor. It is recorded elsewhere that Ram Mohan Roy's editor deserted him after 13 issues of the *Kaumudi* had been published. The paper ceased publication as a result and Bhowani Charan Banerjee started a rival weekly, the *Chandrika Samachar* which defended the practice of *sati* and resolutely opposed all the social and religious reform measures advocated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The *Sambad Kaumudi* was revived by Ram Mohan Roy and Long records that it "lasted to see the abolition of *sati* by Lord Bentinck, the actual carrying out of which was in no small degree owing to the *Kaumudi* and similar papers preparing the native mind for the

abolition." In a catalogue of Bengali newspapers and periodicals prepared by him and submitted to the Government in 1855, J. Long shows the *Sambad Kaumudi* as having been first published in 1819, having continued for 33 years and as edited by Babu Tarachand Dutta and Babu Bhubanicharn Bundopadia. The next paper shown is the *Samachar Chandrika* as still in existence in 1855 and edited by Bhabanichurn Banerji. In his 1859 review Long described the *Chandrika* as the oldest of the existing newspapers and an advocate of the old Hindu regime. He adds: "The editor of the *Chandrika* for 25 years was Bhowani Banerjee, an able Sanskrit and Bengali scholar, the leader of the Dharma Sabha of which the *Chandrika* was the organ. The *Chandrika* occasionally barks now, but it is toothless; the body of Hindu reformers is too strong for it."

Raja Ram Mohan Roy also started a Persian newspaper, the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* (1822). It was not the first newspaper published in Persian. Indeed some were published towards the end of 18th century but there is no record of them. Two other Persian newspapers followed in the wake of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's venture, the *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa* and the *Shams-ul-Akhbar*. In Bombay Fardoonji Marzban started the *Mumbai-Na-Sama-Char*, a Gujerati paper, which has been in continued and uninterrupted publication till today, modifying its name to *Bombay Samachar*.

It would appear that more than other Indian-edited papers, Raja Ram Mohan Roy's publications were viewed with some apprehension in official quarters, for when the *Sambad Kaumudi* ceased publication for a period because of its desertion by its editor, Bhawani Charan Banerji, Buckingham commented on its demise in the *Calcutta Journal* as follows:—

"The paper which was considered so fraught with danger, and likely to explode over all India like a spark thrown into a barrel of gunpowder, has long since fallen to the ground for want of support; chiefly we understand because it offended the native community, by opposing some of their customs, and particularly the burning of Hindoo widows. The innocent *Sungbad Cowmuddy*, the object of so much unnecessary alarm, was originally established in the month of December, 1821, and relinquished by the original proprietor for want of encouragement in May 1822, after which it was kept alive by another native till the September following, when about the commencement of the Doorga Pooja holidays, it first was suspended and then fell to rise no more".

The main points that emerge from the development of journalism in the first 20 years of the 19th century are as follows:—

1. The Marquess of Wellesley imposed a rigid, almost wartime, censorship, presumably in anticipation of a series of conflicts in which he expected he would have to engage. He also had in mind the need for keeping the European community in Calcutta under control.
2. Wellesley's stringent regulations were often disregarded without serious consequences. Pamphlets were published containing material which newspapers were forbidden to print and fresh regulations had to be issued to control their publication.
3. The Government (Lord Minto) did not approve of the early activities of the Serampore missionaries in attacking Hindu and Muslim religious beliefs and practices but later (Hastings and Lord Amherst) extended facilities and privileges to the Serampore publications for the valuable information they carried.

4. Both in India and in England opinion was sharply divided on the issue of freedom of the Press in India. In England the Court of Directors favoured firm and clear restrictions while the Board of Control intervened twice—first to withhold approval from Lord Wellesley's restrictions and later to turn down the Court of Directors' censure of Lord Hastings' relaxation of the restrictions.

5. In India Lord Hastings does not seem to have had the support of his Council in his liberal measures in regard to the Press. The Members of Council were happy with Lord Wellesley's policy and dismayed by Lord Hastings' liberalism. The Governors of Bombay and Madras seemed to favour rigid control of the Press. The Press and some prominent officials and citizens were alone in approving of Lord Hastings' policies.

6. Raja Ram Mohan Roy's papers and generally, the progressive Indian Press were viewed with some apprehension in official circles while newspapers which favoured the orthodox point of view did not attract the same measure of hostile attention.

7. Almost simultaneously with Raja Ram Mohan Roy's reformist newspapers, a powerful orthodox Hindu Press came into being which opposed social and religious reforms at every step throughout the 19th century.

8. James Silk Buckingham, more than any other single person, both by his writings and his tireless campaign against the restrictions and censorship imposed on the Press, convinced many eminent minds in England and in India of the useful function which a free Press could perform by its exposure of lapses in the administration and its criticism of Governmental policies.

CHAPTER III—THE FIRST PRESS ORDINANCE

The measures taken by Governor-General John Adam to deport James Silk Buckingham have already been indicated in the previous chapter. He lost no time in bringing into force a set of regulations more stringent than any that had been in force earlier. He took the precaution of securing for his measures the sanction of an ordinance duly approved by the Court of Directors (December 18, 1823). The ordinance required that all matters printed in a press or published thereafter except "shipping intelligence, advertisements of sales, current prices of commodities, rates of exchange, or other intelligence solely of a commercial nature," should be printed and published under licence from the Governor-General-in-Council signed by the Chief Secretary of the Government. It laid down that the application for a licence should give the name or names of the printer and publisher of the proprietors, their place of residence, the location of the press and the title of the newspaper, magazine, register, pamphlet, or other printed book or paper. It was further required that if a printer, publisher or proprietor or the address of any of them or of the printing house was changed, a fresh application for a licence should be submitted. It reserved to the Governor-General the right to call for a fresh application whenever he deemed it expedient, such notice on issue invalidating any previous licence granted and held. There was also provision for resuming or recalling a licence which was thereafter to be treated as null and void. The penalty for printing and/or publishing any literature without the requisite licence was Rs. 400 for each such publication and in default imprisonment not exceeding 4 months.

Under this ordinance, regulations were issued by the Governor-General-in-Council prohibiting the printing of books and papers and the use of printing presses without a licence and providing a penalty for infringment of a fine of Rs. 1,000 commutable to imprisonment without labour for a period of not more than six months. These regulations also laid down the procedure for applying for a licence, the authority to which it should be forwarded, the conditions which Government may, in each instance, think proper to attach to such licence, the service of notices for the recall of such licences by Government and the penalties which may be imposed in the event of the use of the printing presses after a licence had been recalled. Magistrates were empowered to attach and to dispose of, as the Government may direct, both unlicensed printing presses as well as presses which continued to function after notice of recall. All matter printed in a licensed press was required to bear on the first and the last pages the name of the printer and of the city, town or place at which the paper was printed and it was further required that a copy of each publication should be forwarded to the local magistrate on payment. Penalties were also provided for the circulation of proscribed literature—Rs. 100 fine or two months simple imprisonment for a first offence and Rs. 200 fine or four months simple imprisonment for each subsequent offence. Magistrates were required to report to government all action taken under the regulations.

Among the newspapers whose writings were cited in justification of these regulations was Ram Mohan Roy's *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*. The paper was restrained in its language and constructive in its criticism but it dealt with a variety of subjects including social and administrative evils and critically examined British policy both in India and in Ireland. In the prospectus published in the first issue of the paper, Ram Mohan Roy pledged himself to have due regard for truth and for the rank of persons in authority and to guard against any expression that might tend to hurt the feelings of any individual. He explained that the two-fold object of the paper was to enlighten the public with a view to their social improvement and to "communicate to the rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their rulers: that the rulers may more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people, and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their rulers". The *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* was, nevertheless, marked as a paper which had incurred the displeasure of the Government and William Butterworth Bayley had catalogued a series of passages which he regarded as objectionable, in addition to extracts from some other newspapers. It was natural, therefore, that Raja Ram Mohan Roy should have viewed with apprehension the new Press regulations. He and five other leaders submitted a representation to the Supreme Court. The appeal was rejected and Ram Mohan Roy addressed a further appeal to the King-in-Council against the Press regulations. This too was rejected and in protest Ram Mohan Roy ceased publication of the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*. An application on behalf of the *Sambad Kaumudi* was made by Govind Chunder Gour and Aunundo Gopal Mookerjea. Three months later, Aunundo Gopal Mookerjea withdrew from the enterprise and Govind Chunder Gour declared himself sole printer and publisher. Among the other papers which filed declarations were the *Samachar Chandrika* (Bhowani Charan Banerjea) and the *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa*, a Persian and Urdu newspaper (Hurree Hur Dut) with Lalla Sadha Sook as editor, and the *Shams-ul-Akbar* (Moothur Mohan Mitter and Munneeram Thacoor). John Adam then turned his attention to the *Calcutta Journal* whose editor (Buckingham) he had already deported. *John Bull* attacked Buckingham and the *Calcutta Journal* defended him and the result was that, as Sandys, the editor, could not be deported being Indian-born, his colleague Sandford Arnot was deported instead. When the action was communicated to the Court of Directors, they deplored it and pointed out that Arnot had promised to sever his connections with newspapers and had appealed to be permitted to stay on in India to teach English. The *Calcutta Journal* was again warned for publishing extracts from Leicester Stanhope's *Sketch of the History and Influence of the Press in British India* and the Chief Secretary informed the proprietors, Messrs. Palmer and Ballard, that the licence granted for the printing of the *Calcutta Journal* and allied newspapers was revoked.

With the extinction of the *Calcutta Journal*, the *John Bull* and the *Hurkaru* took up the controversy about the freedom of the Press. The question was in active debate in the Parliament at the time, and it would seem that the Government in India was extremely uneasy of the constant references to the subject in the Press in India and of the ventilation of all points of view even without editorial comment. One notification permitted the publication of debates in Parliament but a couple of weeks later the

John Bull was pulled up for publishing the views of Sir John Malcolm on the freedom of the Press in India expressed in a letter to Lambton. It should be remembered that the *John Bull* was for all intents and purposes an official organ and it may be taken, therefore, that the editor's surprise at being pulled up was genuine.

Several attempts were made to revive the *Calcutta Journal* and the Government's objection was sought to be met by holding out assurances that all relations with James Silk Buckingham had been completely severed and by the appointment of Dr. Muston, a son-in-law of one of the members of the Governor-General's Council. Muston even offered to change the name of the paper to the *British Lion.* The Government was adamant and turned down all overtures until February 1824, when Muston secured a licence as editor and sole proprietor of a newspaper to be called the *Scotsman in the East.* Buckingham protested at the time that the new paper was printed with his types, published at his premises and supported by his subscribers but that he received no share of the profits. This should have pleased the Government as the breach with Buckingham was now complete. Muston was, however, drawn into the controversy on the liberty of the Press. He was pulled up and expressed unqualified regret. He soon lost heart and sold out to Messrs. Smith & Lock the proprietors of the *Bengal Hurkaru.* After the transaction was completed, Buckingham was saddled with a debt of Rs. 27,000. A possible reason for Muston selling out is the disapproval expressed by the Court of Directors of his acting as the editor of a newspaper while he was on the staff of the Company as Presidency Surgeon.

Meanwhile in London, Buckingham was making frantic efforts to secure permission to return to India and to have the Adam regulations abrogated. Both representatives were turned down, the second after an appeal to the Privy Council. A significant passage in defence of the regulations read as follows:

"The inevitable consequences, even of rash and injudicious though well-meant discussions, in daily and other newspapers and periodical publications, circulated (as was the case at the time the said rule was made) not only in the English language, but in the Persian, Bengalee, and other native tongues, of all subjects of government and administration, civil, religious, military, and political, could not fail to afford matter of irritation to the native powers, to disquiet and unsettle the minds of His Majesty's native subjects, and thereby to endanger the security of the British Establishments in India".

It was also argued that the earlier provision for deportation ceased, "when it was discovered that the ostensible conduct and legal responsibility of such publications might be transferred to persons of different description, natives or others, not liable to the restraints imposed by law upon the British subjects of His Majesty in India". It is apparent from this defence that the regulations introduced by John Adam were directed against newspapers published in the Indian languages and edited by natives of India. The only Indian language paper edited by a non-Indian at the time was the Serampore missionaries' organ the *Samachar Darpan* which avoided political issues and, as already explained in a previous chapter, enjoyed the patronage of, and certain privileges from the Government. The encouragement and facilities accorded to the *Samachar Darpan* may be explained in detail here. John Marshman wrote to the Government in February, 1826 pointing out that it had been regularly published since

its inception in 1818 though at a loss of several thousands of rupees on postage, although he enjoyed the concession of paying only one-fourth the normal charge. He suggested that two copies of the paper should be sent weekly, on payment and free of postage to each of the public offices and courts in Bengal. The Government accepted the offer in a modified form and authorized Marshman to send one copy of the paper free of postage to each of 100 public offices and courts. In addition, Marshman was advised that the Governor-General-in-Council had resolved to subscribe Rs. 160 monthly for a Persian version of the *Samachar Darpan.* In return 160 copies of the Persian paper (*Serampore Akhbar*) were to be distributed free of postage to the three Revenue Boards and to judges, collectors, joint magistrates and sub-collectors throughout the Bengal Presidency. Six copies of the magazine were to be sent to each of the following colleges: Delhi, Agra, Banaras, Madrassa of Calcutta and Calcutta Hindu College. Hurree Hur Dut, the sole proprietor of the *Jam-i-Jahan-Juma,* was allowed the concession of circulating his paper at one-fourth the usual rate. Joogul Kishore Sookal who represented that his *Oodunt Martund,* published in Hindi had a limited circulation in Calcutta but greater possibilities outside and that he should be permitted to send the first 8 issues free of postage, was informed that he may send the first or any single issue of the paper free of postage to the stations in question. Later, Sookal applied for postal concession on a par with the *Samachar Darpan* but his application was turned down.

The Adam regulations were a forerunner of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. Indian-owned Indian language papers seem to have kept clear of political topics for seven years following the Press regulations. As already stated, Raja Ram Mohan Roy's *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* ceased publication in protest and he severed his connection with the *Sambad Kaumudi.* The English-owned English language papers were warned periodically as before and except for the *Calcutta Journal* for which John Adam had a special regard, and the *Calcutta Chronicle,* no other paper was deprived of its licence. Indeed, in a communication addressed to the editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru,* it was said: "If the letter of the Press regulations were to be strictly enforced, almost every day would furnish cause for censure or remark; it would be easy also to multiply restrictive rules, but the Government is desirous to trust as long as it can do so with propriety, to the prudence and discretion of the editor, and to interfere as rarely as regard for the public interests will admit". Almost every warning listed references to Buckingham and references to the freedom of the Press. The *Bengal Chronicle* which published what the Chief Secretary described as "a gross insult on public authority and a contumelious attack on the Privy Council" was let off with a warning, but the paper changed hands soon after. (*See* footnote to list of papers published below.)

In Bombay, in July 1824, C. J. Fair, editor of the *Bombay Gazette,* was hauled up for casting aspersions on the Supreme Court and asked to furnish a security of Rs. 20,000 and two sureties of Rs. 10,000 each. As he was unable to do so, he was deported. Following continued lapses by the *Bombay Gazette,* the Government of Bombay, on the suggestion of the Court of Directors, adopted regulations similar to the Adam Regulations on May 11, 1825. These were not approved by the Supreme Court of Bombay and it was not till 1827, that Regulation XXIV embodying the restrictions was passed.

The Friend of India.

(QUARTERLY SERIES.)

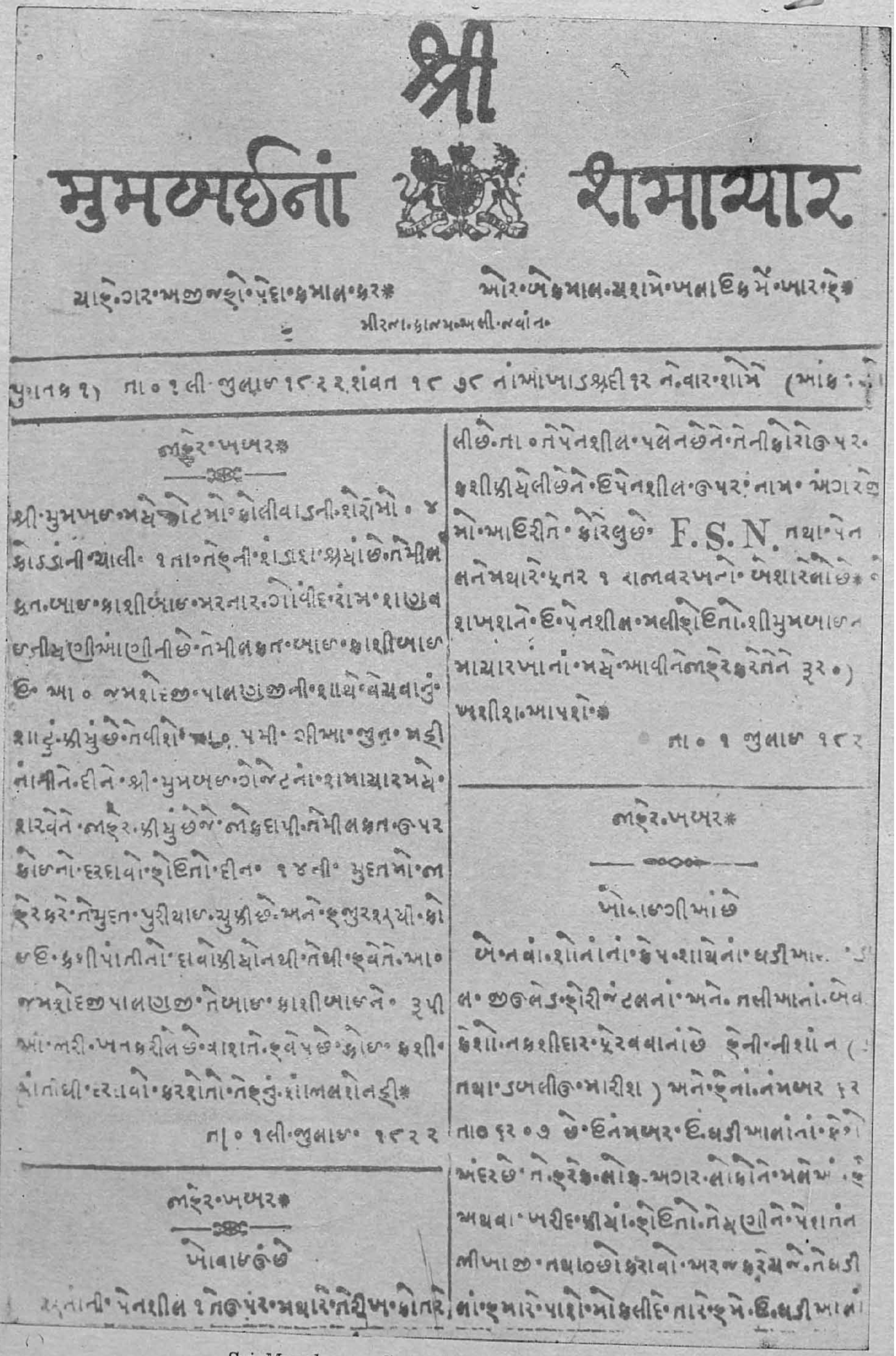
SEPTEMBER, 1820.

26 JY 65

ART. I.—*Review of Golownin's Recollections of Japan, comprising a particular account of the Religion, Language, Government, Laws, and Manners of the People, with observations on the Geography, Climate, Population, and Productions of the Country.* 8vo. London, 1819.

WITHIN the last two centuries various circumstances have combined to render the different nations of Eastern Asia in a high degree interesting. In the latter end of the fifteenth century the spirit of discovery, which had lain dormant for nearly two thousand years, at least from the reign of Alexander and the voyage of Nearchus, if it could be said ever to have lived, revived with astonishing vigor;—and while it led to the acquisition of new worlds in North and South America, it opened a passage to Eastern Asia, which changed the face of the world, and brought the nations of the East almost home to Europe in all their wealth and their immense population. The circumstances which led to such a burst of European energy may be traced in the revival of classic literature and the invention of printing. The spirit of Europe, which, springing from the north, had overwhelmed the colossal empire of the west, the terror of the world for nearly a thousand years, and had planted a new circle of kingdoms destined to be the future scene of liberty and peace through

The Friend of India: Quarterly Series, Calcutta, September, 1820



Sri Mumbayna Samachar: Bombay, July 1, 1822

THE HERALD.

A WEEKLY MESSENGER.

"Liberty consists in the power of doing that which is permitted by Justice."—CICERO

No. 1. CALCUTTA, SATURDAY NIGHT, MAY 9, 1829. PRICE TWO RUPEES.

SUMMARY OF NEWS.

Europe.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Every Englishman will be glad to hear, that his King is in the enjoyment of as good health as can be expected, and in the full and vigorous possession of his mental faculties. His Majesty was residing at Windsor during the Christmas recess, and dispensing to many, his wonted hospitality and liberality; after the holidays, it was said, Brighton would be honoured with the temporary residence of our Monarch, who is perhaps, at the present, the most beloved, as well as the most puissant ruler, that ever swayed the sceptre of Britain; that he may long continue so, is, we are confident, the wish, of every good subject under British rule.

Parliament was prorogued by proclamation, from the 5th December to the 5th of February 1829.

The encrease in the Excise Department of the revenue alone, for the year ending the 6th of January 1829, as compared with the former year, amounts to 1,730,000 £. This is an auspicious commencement of the Wellington administration.

The Venerable Bishop of Norwich, died at his Episcopal palace on the 1st of January last. His Lordship was upwards of eighty years of age.

The Will of her late Majesty the Queen of Wurtemburg.

The Will of her late Majesty, was proved in the prerogative court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, by His Excellency the Count de Mandelsloh, the Minister from Wurtemburg to the British Court, who is named as the attorney executor, representing His Majesty, the present King of Wurtemburg.

The property in England, is sworn to be under the value of 80,000£ sterling; it is beautifully written in the German language ... and dated from the Palace of Ludwigsburg, the 23d December 1816; and, in consequence of the lapse of the death of her royal parents, the property devolves on the legitimate children of the present king of Wurtemburg. The specific legacies are numerous and valuable.

The Dukes of Northumberland and Buckingham, Lords Verulam, Melville, Powis and Sidmouth, have each had the rumour attached to them, of being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The former, although an anti-catholic nobleman, would, we think, be acceptable, on account of his princely splendour and magnificence.

Requisitions were pouring in from every county and parish in England, for meetings and petitions, to resist the obnoxious boastings of O'Connell and the Catholic Association. The county of Devon address to the Sheriff, contained a list of 240 of the most respectable freeholders in the county. Addresses have been sent to His Majesty on the same subject from several public bodies.

The Earl of Belmore had been appointed Governor of Jamaica.

A report was in circulation of the abolition of the Viceroyship in Ireland; should such be the case, we think, it would be beneficial for the country, as its resident noblemen, would most probably be chosen, as the Lords Commissioners, for the administration of the affairs of Ireland.

A Russian squadron sailed from Portsmouth on the 2d December, consisting of one first rate of 82 guns, and 750 men, one 50 gun, and several ships of smaller size.

Madame Catalani, assisted by Mr. Phillips, and Mr. and Miss Ymiewictz, was holding concerts in the north of England, which were numerous and fashionably attended. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that time has not as yet appeared to exercise, his ruthless havoc, on her extraordinary vocal powers.

The Duke of Athol, although at the advanced age of 74, is building a new palace at Dunkeld, which bids fair to vie with the first edifice in the kingdom. The style to be that of the Gothic Abbey, rather than the castellated Gothic. The porch is sufficiently large to admit a carriage being driven under it; the vestibule (50 feet long) leads to the great baronial hall of 90 feet in length: the other apartments, are suitably magnificent, altogether promising one of the finest structures in North Britain.

An eminent machine-maker in Manchester, had upwards of 100 men very busily employed, in making cotton spinning machinery, for exportation to the East Indies.

Economy being the order of the day, Naval and Military half-pay officers it is said, will be appointed to situations in Public Departments as they fall vacant, by which means their half-pay will be saved to the country.

The Duke of Richmond has been invested with the noble order of the Garter.

The Portuguese Military Depot at Plymouth has been broken up, and the advances of pay have ceased.

Some ships of war have been dispatched from Portsmouth, under sealed orders, and it was rumoured, that they were to intercept such of the Portuguese refugees, as wish to land on the Island of Terceira, the only spot where the Young Queen of Portugal is Sovereign *de facto* as well as *de jure*.

A grand Installation of the Knights Companions of the Order of the Bath, was said would take place in May, in Westminster Abbey.

MONEY MARKET.

LONDON, JAN. 9.—Consols favourable in the morning; bargains current 87¾; leading brokers then appeared as sellers and a decline of ¼ per cent. took place, closing price 87½ to ⅝.—Exchequer bills on the contrary, advanced 1s. on the sales of the 8th.—No reason assigned for this fluctuation.

The prices of the Portuguese bonds have risen two per cent. and large sales effected; some attributing the cause to the supposed death of Miguel, others to a counter-revolution at Lisbon against Miguel, and that in case of the recognition of the Young Queen's rights, the Emperor of the Brazils would be necessitated to pay the dividends in arrear.

Brazilian bonds were further improved to the amount of ½ per cent. and both Danish and Russian Stock are quoted at higher prices. Mexican has been enquired for.

Gold was 16-25ths to 17-25ths per cent. higher at Paris than in London, from 1 to 1¼ per cent. higher at Amsterdam than in London. Two per cent. higher at Hamburgh than in London.

The Exchange on London was 60 at Constantinople and 59½ at Smyrna.

AUSTRIA.—Considerable quantities of Gold had arrived at Vienna from Amsterdam, which are said to be instalments of a large loan for the Austrian government from the Messrs Rothschild, who have already advanced 30,000,000 florins. The contract is to be kept secret for sometime, when a new issue of metallics, will be poured into the Exchange of Europe.

Bank Shares 1,099. Metalliques 11-8th.

RUSSIA.—The receipt of the Custom-house Revenue of the Russian empire amounted in 1827, to 64,000,000 of rubles, exceeding by 10,000,000 any of the preceding ten years. The exchange in December on London at St. Petersburgh was 10 11-16ths.

PARIS, JAN. 7.—French Funds. Five percents 108f. 15c. Three per cents. 74f. 55c. Bank Stock 1,797f. 50c. Naples Stock 78f. 45c. Royal Spanish loan 73f. Spanish rente perpetuelle 41½f. Haytian loan 481f. Exchange on London one month 25f. 20c. Three months 25f.

SPAIN.—The King of Spain has authorised the minister for foreign affairs, to sign a treaty, by which France is inscribed for 80,000,000 of francs in the great book of the public debt in 3 per cent. stock. The Spanish Government will pay 4,000,000 annually, of which 2,400,000 is for the interest, and 1,600,000 for the redemption of the stock.

This is national Stock Jobbing on a very pretty scale, and bids fair to beat the Jews out of the market.

Since writing the foregoing, we observe in a paper of less recent date, that a Spanish Financial agent Senor Antonio De Uriarte, had declared to the French public, that Spain has a regular budget, that the state revenues for the last year, amounted to 463,000,000 of reals or about 4,630,000£ sterling, and that the expenditure was only 454,000,000 of reals, leaving a surplus of 90,000£ sterling, beside other funds to redeem the national debt.

If this were a true statement, what does Ferdinand want with a loan of 80,000,000 of francs?

The Herald: Calcutta, May 9, 1829

The Calcutta Courier.

PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY EVENING.

No. 1. Vol. I.] Calcutta, Wednesday Evening, April 4, 1832. [Price 10 Rs. per Quarter.

NOTICE.—The *Calcutta Gazette* will be published every Saturday Evening; Price 5 Rupees per Quarter.

The *Calcutta Courier* will be published on Wednesday and Saturday Evenings, in time for the Dawk; Price 10 Rupees per Quarter.

Subscribers to the Old *Government Gazette*, who shall not give orders to the contrary, will be considered as Subscribers to both the *Calcutta Gazette* and the *Calcutta Courier*, if resident in Calcutta; and to the *Calcutta Courier* only, if resident in the Mofussil.

April 4, 1832.

NOTICE.—Mr. Thomas Bendley Scott, *heretofore one of the Co-proprietors of the* India Gazette Press *having withdrawn from the* [illegible] *proprietorship hitherto carried on under the Firm of* Scott and Co., *and having opened a Printing Office on his own account, under the name of* Scott and Co. *the present and continuing* Proprietors of the India Gazette Press *beg particularly to request the Subscribers of the* India Gazette, the Calcutta Monthly Journal, the Calcutta Quarterly Register, the Calcutta Annual Directory, *and their Correspondents and Constituents at large, to address their Communications in future, not to* Scott and Co., *but to the* Proprietors of the India Gazette Press, No. 3, Dhurrumtollah, Calcutta, *or to* M. J. [illegible], *the Superintendent of the Press,* [illegible] *all Bills, Drafts, and Remittances,* [illegible] *such Superintendent, he being* [illegible] *to make appointments, and grant receipts for all payments.*

India Gazette Office,
No. 3, *Dhurrumtollah Calcutta,*
31st March, 1832.

STATEMENT OF THE FUNDS OF THE EQUITABLE TONTINE, No. 1 A.

15 Shares paid up in full, ...Sa. Rs.	15600	0	0
11 Do. do.	600	0	0
5[illegible] Do. do. 16th quarters paid up,	20[illegible]	0	0
2 Do. do. do. 11th do. do.	2720	0	0
[illegible] Do. do. do. 10th do. do.	1[illegible]	0	0
1 Do. do. do. 13th do. do.	2[illegible]	0	0
1 Do. do. do. 9th do. do.	225	0	0
[illegible] Shares	3[illegible]	0	0
Premium on admissions,..	2[illegible]	[illegible]	1
2 Shares forfeited, ...	600	0	0
Interest, ...	3[illegible]	2	5
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less Charges, ...	15[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sa. Rs.	37678	11	6

E. E.
Calcutta, 31st March, 1832.

(Signed) BRUCE, SHAND & CO.
Secretaries & Treasurers.

STATEMENT OF THE FUNDS OF THE EAGLE TONTINE, No. 2 B.

[illegible] Shares .... Sa. Rs.	1600	0	0
11 Do. which have paid 6th quarters,	6600	0	0
1 Do. do. do. .... 8th do.	800	0	0
1 Do. do. do. .... 6th do.	300	0	0
4 Do. do. do. .... 11th do.	2[illegible]	0	0
By cash on account of 17½ Shares,..	11960	0	0
" for premium on admission,..	191	0	10
" for interest to 31st March, 1832, ...	621	15	8
	1562[illegible]	0	0
Less charges, ...	362	8	3
Sa. Rs.	15263	8	3

E. E.
Calcutta, 31st March, 1832.

(Signed) BRUCE, SHAND & CO.
Secretaries & Treasurers.

NOTICE.—The Books and Accounts of the New Equitable Tontines, No. 1 A, and No. 2 B, for the past Half Year, are now open at the Office of the Secretaries and Treasurers for the inspection of Parties interested.

(Signed) BRUCE, SHAND & CO.
Secretaries and Treasurers.

LOST OR STOLEN, between Burdwan and Krishnaghur, a Bank of Bengal Note, No. [illegible] Sicca Rupees [illegible].

The Public is cautioned not to receive it, Payment being stopt at the Bank. Should the same be sent to the Office of this Paper, a reward will be given if required.

LATELY PUBLISHED.—In 4 vols. 8vo.—Price on fine Paper, 140 Sicca Rupees, ditto, on common ditto, 100 Sicca Rupees—The SHAH NAMUH. By Abool Kasim Firdousee, carefully collected, &c. &c. with a Life of the Author, by Turner Macan, Esq. &c. &c. Apply to Messrs. Alexander and Co. or to Mr. R. McCulloch, Book-binder, No. 143, Mirzapore, Gowahbagh Lane, Calcutta.

NOTICE.—The Public are hereby informed that Mr. Wm. CRUMP has nothing more WHATEVER to do to or with our Old Concerns and Establishments at Calcutta, Cawnpore, or Benares,—all which have been [illegible] for ourselves;—but that he is PERMITTED to set up a fresh wherever he pleases.

DICK & CO.

ADVERTISEMENT.—The Origin of Popery, [illegible] an answer to the enquiry, "Why are you a [illegible]?" By [illegible], 8vo. stitched. To be had of W. Thacker and Co. Price 2 Rs.

FOR SALE. Horse Hair Cloth, of various widths.—This rare but valuable Article is well adapted for covering Couches and Chairs, also Tonjons and Palanquins, it is not only the most durable, but the coolest material known.

CURTAIN GAUZE.

English Green Curtain Gauze—this is a strong and airy furniture, and only half the price of China.

CLOTHS, &c.

Gentlemen's superfine broad Cloths and Cassimeres, Marseilles and Toilonet Waistcoatings, Silk, Cotton, Lamb's Wool, and Angola Stockings.

CONFECTIONARY.

Consisting of Strawberry and Raspberry Jams, Hoffman's Sirop de Framboise and Rum Shrub, bottled Plumbs, Damsons, Gooseberries, Orange Marmalade, Current Jellies, &c. &c.

HERMETICALLY SEALED LUXURIES.

Cooper's celebrated Sealed Salmon, Salmon Trout, Lobsters, Oysters, Mock Turtle and other Soups, all of which are warranted in the highest perfection.

PRIME GOODS, viz.

Government Manillas, warranted the finest and freshest in Town, Gaitskill's Cordial Gin, Wines, Spirits, and Beers, from various Houses, all of which can be recommended of the first quality, being selected by Mr. J. COX last year, from the London Cellars.

TEAS.

Black and Green Teas, in Chests and Quarter Chests, also Chin Chew Sugar Candy, of the latest Importation. Families requiring a supply can be accommodated, and will find these Goods as fine and genuine as any in the Settlement.

Apply to Messrs. J. COX & CO.
Late of Messrs. Tulloh & Co.

April 3, 1832.

FOR SALE, a Third Share in the Bernagore Cotton Screws, belonging to the Estate of Messrs. Palmer and Co. For particulars enquire at the Office of the Assignees.

Calcutta, 28th March, 1832.

CHATEAU MARGAUX CLARET, [illegible] and Son, Bordeaux, for Sale, at the Godowns of

BOYD, BERRY & CO.

FOR Sale at the Godowns of Lyall, Matheson and Co. superior London bottled Sherry, and other Wines, also first rate Sherry and Madeira, in Wood.

OLD PORT WINE, *of a very superior quality, per Zenobia, from London*—at 24 Rs. per dozen.

FINE PALE SHERRY, *by a late arrival, London Bottled*, at 20 Rs. per dozen.

FIRST CLASS FRENCH CLARETS, *the freshest in the Market*—may be had of J. W. ROBERTS, General Commission Agent.

N. B.—A considerable reduction to Regimental Messes and others, taking a large quantity.

A FRESH Supply of Three Hundred Cases of *General Palmer's First Growth* CLARET, direct from his Estate by the late arrival, is now for Sale, at the Godowns of Messrs. Alexander and Co., where Muster Bottles may be had, and at Mr. Meyers, 158, Durrumtollah. This truly Superior Batch of Claret is warranted of superior flavor and quality to any in India, and as such will be received back if not approved. Also, a few Dozen of Superior *Cogniac Brandy* of 1795, and a few Pieces of *Hennessy's Brandy.*

এতন্মহানগরীয় [illegible] গরীয় ও অনা
না দেশীয় মহাজন প্রভৃতি প্রধান
বেনীয় [illegible] কতিপয় পংক্তি
প্রচয়

আমরা [illegible] নগরীয় [illegible] কি
ন্তু [illegible] অর্থাৎ নিমতলার [illegible]
শ্রীযুক্ত কাশীনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় মহাশ [illegible]
বাটীতে বিরোধ বোধ নাই [illegible]
ন্য প্রকাশ করিব [illegible]
চীন শাস্ত্রবিশেষ যাহা এতৎপর্যন্ত [illegible]
রূপে অপ্রকাশিত এবং [illegible]
নবনব সংবাদ অনুবাদ প্রভৃতি [illegible]
ত হইবেক তদ্বিশেষ বিশেষরূপে [illegible]
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উক্তধামে অনেক [illegible] করিবেন নিবেদন
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District Charitable Society.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The attention of the District Charitable Society having been attracted upon several occasions, and particularly in some instances of recent occurrence, to the practice prevailing in this city of levying contributions upon the public charity by the means of children of tender years, who are sent with petitions from door to door by parents or other relatives, the Central Committee consider it their duty to submit to the community an earnest appeal against the encouragement of a system, the immediate tendency of which is to benefit the idle and the dissolute, whilst in its ultimate effects it can rarely fail to accomplish the ruin of the unfortunate infants who are devoted to such employment.

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All petitions or applications for relief referred to the Secretaries of the Society, or to Mr. C. D. J. Murray, at the Episcopal Residence, Chowringhee, will meet with ready attention, and such assistance will be afforded with reference to the means of the Society, as the case, after investigation, may appear to require.

GEORGE DALBY,
Joint Secretary.

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The Calcutta Courier: Calcutta, April 4, 1832

Listed below are the names of newspapers started in the second decade of the century

Name	Date when started	Name of editor
*1. The Scotsman in the East . .	12-2-1824	Dr. Muston.
2. Weekly Gleaner	21-10-1824	Patrick Crichton.
† 3. The Columbian Press Gazette . .	29-10-1824	Monte de Rozario.
4. Quarterly Oriental Magazine . .	19-1-1825	Dr. Bryce.
§5. Bengal Chronicle		James Sutherland.
6. Kaleidoscope	15-1-1828	David Drummond H.L.V. de Rozario.
7. Oodunt Martund	9-2-1826	Joogul Koshore Sookal.
††8. Calcutta Chronicle	1827	William Adam.
9. Calcutta Gazette and Commercial Advertiser.	26-9-1828	Villiers Holcroft.
10. Gospel Investigator . . .	7-2-1828	Emmanuel Robam.

*Sold to proprietors of *Bengal Hukaru*.

† § †† Ceased publication when Rozario became properietor of *Bengal Chronicle* which again was sold to Smith of the *Bengal Hurkaru*. Thus at this time Messrs. Smith and Lock between them owned three newspapers——the *Hurkaru*. the *Scotsman* and the *Bengal Chronicle*. Rozerio's reason for selling the *Bengal Chronicle* was his failing health but it would appear that the *Bengal Chronicle* had been marked for action because of the association with it of William Adam and James Sutherland whose later association with the *Caalcutta Chronicle* led to the revoking of their licence for violation of the Press regulations on May 29, 1827.

At this time, an issue was raised in Bombay which led to an order from the Court of Directors and was the subject of controversy throughout the 19th century. Francis Warden, a Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, who held previously the post of Press Censor, owned two newspapers, the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Bombay Courier*. Warden charged certain judges of the Supreme Court with having communicated to Buckingham's *Oriental Herald* in London a statement alleging that he had used his official position to the advantage of the papers he owned. The High Court of Bombay could take no action against Warden because of the immunity he enjoyed from legal action by virtue of his official position. The Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, contended that in the circumstances, it should not be permitted for a Member of Council to be the proprietor of a newspaper. Representations were made to the Court of Directors by all concerned and on December 30, 1825, the Court of Directors issued a despatch prohibiting all persons in the Company's service, including civil, naval and military officers, surgeons and chaplains, from having connection with a newspaper or periodical not devoted exclusively to literary and scientific objects, as editor, or sole or part proprietor. The

despatch threatened dismissal of any servant who continued to maintain such connection with a newspaper six months after receipt of the order. The prohibition extended to Bengal, Bombay and Madras and the three administrations were required to report the names of the persons affected by the order. Bryce, the Company's Chaplain, proprietor of the quarterly *Oriental Magazine,* and part-proprietor of *John Bull,* and Sergeant Grant, a Company official, who was editor and part-proprietor of the *India Gazette,* protested and after some correspondence were permitted to continue their association with their respective papers pending a reference to the Court of Directors, The reply took some time to come but in the first half of 1829 Grant and Bryce were told that they must sever their connection with their newspapers. The result was that a fresh licence was granted to David Lister and George Pritchard in respect of the *John Bull.*

In May 1828, following the failure of leading mercantile houses in Calcutta, the Government in Bengal decided to withdraw its aid to the newspapers published by the Serampore missionaries. The *Jam-i-Jahan Numa,* which enjoyed limited Government aid, was also deprived of it on grounds of economy. Towards the end of the year, Lord William Cavendish Bentinck assumed office as Governor-General and the Serampore missionaries approached him with a request for restoration of Government patronage. The Government's reply regretted its inability to renew the public subscription in any modified form or to allow the concession of free postage.

The period under review in this chapter is remarkable for significant developments indicative of the distinction sought to be made between the Indian-owned Indian language papers and the Anglo-Indian Press by which is meant English-owned English-edited Press. They may be briefly summed up as follows:—

1. Lord Hastings' policy of relaxing the restrictions imposed on the Press by Lord Wellesley was his own. His Council in Calcutta did not approve of it. The Court of Directors strongly disapproved of any relaxation. The Board of Control was content with over-ruling the Directors' disapproval.

2. John Adam availed himself of the first opportunity to deport Buckingham and to extinguish the *Calcutta Journal.* His next step was to embody his reactionary views on the freedom of the Press in an ordinance duly approved by the Supreme Court.

3. From the arguments supporting the ordinance and its subsequent application it is apparent that it was aimed at the Indian language Press of the time.

4. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others who shared his reformist views were alone in protesting; neither the British Press nor the orthodox Indian-owned Press protested. Excerpts from Ram Mohan Roy's *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* figured prominently in the case made out for the ordinance. He closed down the *Mirat* and severed his connection with the *Sambad Kaumudi.*

5. Liberal concessions were allowed to the papers published by the Serampore missionaries. But only nominal concessions were given to Indian-owned Indian language newspapers and those too, on application.

6. In effect, Indian-owned Indian language newspapers which were accustomed to deal with a wide range of topics calculated to foster a broad liberal outlook in the public mind were unable to function, while newspapers which confined their writings to expounding the orthodox tenets of Hinduism were free to do so.

7. A large number of papers owned by Englishmen and published in English were started in this period—a phenomenon which generally does not accompany the imposition of rigid restrictions on the Press. It is not, therefore, uncharitable to assume that the Anglo-Indian Press enjoyed an advantage secured to it either by prior understanding or in practical application.

8. The Anglo-Indian Press was warned as before and successive lapses, some of a very serious nature, were condoned. Warnings were ignored with impunity.

9. Warnings given to one or more papers were communicated to all the other Anglo-Indian papers. It was prohibited to publish such warnings in the Press and the Indian-owned Indian language papers knew nothing of the exchanges between the Government and the Anglo-Indian Press.

10. The only paper owned and edited by an Englishman (excepting Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*) whose licence was withdrawn was the *Calcutta Chronicle* edited by William Adam who was a friend of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and who, as a result of theological discussions, was converted by the Raja to Unitarianism. William Adam's writings were forceful but by no means objectionable as were those of other English editors; yet his licence was summarily revoked.

11. The Adam Regulations were in fact the precursor of the Vernacular Press Act and both in conception and in application drew a clear distinction between the two sections of the Press.

CHAPTER IV—RAJARAM MOHAN ROY'S PERIOD OF REFORMS

Lord Bentinck's assumption of the Governor-Generalship was marked by a significant change in the attitude of the Government towards the Press in India and the Indian language Press in particular. One of his first acts was to abolish the practice of *sati*. He was conscious of the fact that more than any one else Ram Mohan Roy had prepared the ground for the legislation. According to one version, Lord Bentinck invited Ram Mohan Roy to Government House and discussed with him the possible repercussions to the proposed legislation. There can be no question that Raja Ram Mohan Roy's earlier extensive writings on the subject and his campaign in support of the measure thereafter, exercised a decisive influence both on the enactment of the measure and its retention against the most vigorous opposition. The orthodox Hindu community made a representation to the Governor-General on January 14, 1830 against the abolition of *sati* which was asserted to be "a sacred duty", any interference with which constituted "an unjust and intolerant dictation in matters of conscience." The Government was warned against false interpretations of Hindu religious feeling and thought by persons " who had apostatized from the religions of their forefathers and defiled themelves by eating and drinking forbidden things in the society of Europeans." The arguments in support of the petition were embodied in a separate note signed by 123 Pandits. The progressive section of the community led by Ram Mohan Roy submitted a counter-petition in the form of an address to Lord Bentinck, paying a tribute to him for the abolition of the rite. The orthodox community submitted a further appeal to the King-in-Council and Ram Mohan Roy countered this with a tract which was widely circulated in England and a petition presented to the House of Lords by the Marquess of Landsdowne on June 13, 1832. The Privy Council turned down the orthodox petition and the controversy was set at rest. While it was in progress, however, several newspapers came into existence in support of the orthodox agitation and died with the controversy.

Lord Bentinck saw the obvious advantage of newspapers published in the Indian languages pursuing freely social controversies and of generally relaxing the restrictions imposed on all sections of the Press in the interest of efficient administration. He instituted enquiries into the circulation and influence of newspapers, the results of which are revealing. In a minute recorded in September, 1828, Mr. G. Stockwell reports as follows:

English Language Papers

Two dailies (*Bengal Harkaru* and *John Bull*) with a circulation in each of 155 and 204 copies daily.

Three bi-weeklies (*India Gazette, Government Gazette, Calcutta Chronicle*) with a circulation per issue of 280, 297 and 189 respectively.

Persian papers

One weekly (presumably *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa*) 26 copies per issue.

A report from A. Sterling on the Indian language Press reveals that between 1824 and 1826 there were six papers in all published in Calcutta (Bengali 3, Persian 2, and Hindi 1) in addition to 2 papers, one in Persian and the other in Bengali published by the Serampore Missionaries. The Serampore Persian papers ceased publication when Government support was withdrawn as a measure of retrenchment. The Second Persian paper and the Hindi paper ceased publication in 1826/1827. The *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa* too would have gone the same way but for the patronage of a few English gentlemen including Sterling himself who considered it to be the best native newspaper even though its contents were limited to "a few articles from the English Calcutta papers, and an abstract of the intelligence from several Courts of Hindustan, as given, often very inaccurately and always most imperfectly, in those genuine native sources of intelligence, the Akbars". Sterling was not optimistic about the paper's future because mofussil readers were not interested in the articles it published and the newspaper-reading public in Calcutta could not read Persian. He drew the deduction that newspapers in the Indian language were a luxury for which there was no demand beyond Calcutta and that without Government's assistance they could not have any sales. He made an exception in the case of papers published in Bengali which found abundant supporters from among the Hindu population of Calcutta.

To these observations may be added the point that the Adam regulations killed many newspapers published in English and in the Indian languages and that interest in Bengali newspapers was greatly stimulated by the socio-religious controversies of the day.

As Lord Bentinck's liberal attitude towards the Press became apparent, a number of newspapers came into existence. In 1830, the sixteen Indian language newspapers and periodicals are listed as follows:—

Dailies	Prabhakar, Chandroday and Mahajan Durpan ;
Tri-weekly	Bhaskar ;
Bi-weekly	Chandrika, Rasaraj ;
Weekly	Gyanadarpan, Banga Dut, Sadhuranjan, Gnyan Sancharini, Rasasaguev, Rangpur Bartabahu and Rashamudgar;
Bi-monthly	Nitya Dharmanaranjika and Durpan Daman Maha Naban;
Monthly	Tatwa Bodhini.

At the time the number of English dailies and periodicals published in Bengal was 33, the total number of subscribers to newspapers being 2,205.

Significant additions in this period were the *Bengal Herald or Weekly Intelligence* established jointly by Robert Montgomery Martin and Neil Rutton Haldar, published in English, Bengali, Persian and Nagri characters and the weekly *Banga Dut* in which Martin, Dwarka Nath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Raja Ram Mohan Roy were interested. This progress would have been maintained but for the financial crash of 1830, as a result of which several newspapers, particularly those published in the English language, were either extinguished, changed hands or were amalgamated with other papers.

Nevertheless Lord Bentinck extended facilities to newspapers and between 1831 and 1833, 19 new papers were added, a list of which is given below:

1831

Name of appalicant	Name of paper	Language
1. Dooloob Chunder Chatterjee	Neetyoprokaus	Bengalee Daily.
2. Premchand Roy	Sambad Sudakur	Bengalee.
3. Iser Chunder Gooptoo	Sumbad Provakur	Bengalee Weekly.
4. Modoosoodone Dass	Sumbad Rutnakur	Bengalee Weekly.
5. Bhoobun Mohun Banerjee	Sumbad Muyookha	Bengalee.
6. Isar Chunder Dutt	Sangbad Showdaminey.	Bengalee Weekly.
7. Baney Madaub Dey	Sangbad Sar Sangcho.	Bengalee and English
8. W. Kirkpatrick	The Indian Register	English.
9. A. Moreiro	The Hesperus	English Evening.
10. Krishna Mohana Banerjee	The Enquirer	English.
11. Charles Henry Disent	The Juvenile Emulator.	English.
12. J.P. Namey	The Reformer	English.

1832

Name of appalicant	Name of paper	Language
1. Moheschunder Paul	Sungbad Rutnaboly	Bengalee Weekly.
2. Andrew D' Souza	The Bengal Journal	English.
3. G.A. Prinsep	Calcutta Gazette	English Weekly.
4. G.H. Hongh	The Philanthropist	English Weekly.

1933

Name of appalicant	Name of paper	Language
1. Russickkrishna Mullick and Madhub Chunder Mullick.	Gyan Auneshun	English and Bengalee.
2. Paterson Saunders	The Moffussil Ukhbar Agra.	English.
3. Wahajuddeen Mahummed	Mahalum Afrose	Persian.

A development at this time was that both Bengal and Bombay started an official Gazette, the *Bombay Government Gazette* and the *Calcutta Gazette* mentioned in the list above. In Bombay, the decision was taken by Sir John Malcolm immediately on asuming the Governorship. It was explained to be a measure of economy and the *Bombay Courier* edited by J. R. Stocqueler which had published all Government advertisements and notifications up to that time complained of a loss of £4,000 a year. The *Calcutta Gazette* replaced the *Government Gazette* and Lord Bentinck in sanctioning its establishment also stressed the point of economy without loss of efficiency.

In this period also a few newspapers came into existence in Bombay. The *Mombai Samachar* to which reference has already been made was converted into a daily in 1832. The *Mombai Vartaman* was started in September 1880, by Nowroji Dorabji Chandaru and in the following year, the *Jam-e-Jamshed*, which is publishing today, was started by Pestonji Maneqji Motiwala. Parsee journalism received an impetus from a calendar controversy started by Dastur Mulla Firoz who, after a visit to Persia, expressed the view that the Bombay Parsee Calendar was inaccurate. As a result the community split into two sects, the Shahhanshahis who stood by the old calendar,

and the Kadmis who accepted Dastur Mulla Firoz's new calendar. The newspapers which took part in this controversy were short-lived including a paper named *Iris* published in English by J. H. Stocqueler whose express purpose it was to ventilate current controversies. After closing down the *Iris*, Stocqueler purchased *Bombay Courier* from Warden and Bell who had been directed by the Company to sever their connection with newspapers.

In Madras, about this time two newspapers, one in Tamil and the other in Telugu, were published on a Government grant. The Director of Public Instruction, Madras, in his report, said that the Tamil newspapers met with a large circulation and added: "The grant of such a character whether it is looked at in an educational or in a political point of view can hardly be overestimated."

In the North West Provinces, a Hindi and an Urdu Journal were successfully launched under Government educational patronage.

Bal Shastri Jambhekar started the first Anglo-Marathi weekly under the name of the *Bombay Durpan* (1832). With him were associated Rugoonath Hurryochunderjee and Junardun Wessoodewjee. The three jointly approached the Government with a request that it should subscribe for a few copies. Jambhekar was the editor and in the prospectus he appealed to his countrymen to support the venture both with subscriptions and contributions to its pages and invited the philanthropy of Europeans with equal confidence. First started as a fortnightly, it was converted into a weekly a couple of months later. From Poona, Aunnundrau Wittobah sought permission to publish the *Poona Vartick* but the concessions he asked for were not granted and it is not known whether the paper was actually published.

Lord Bentinck's regime was marked by a developing liberal attitude towards the Press which was greatly influenced by Sir Charles Metcalfe. In 1828, Lord Bentinck appointed Grant as Superintendent of the Government Press. It will be remembered that Grant had been earlier required to sever his connection with the *India Gazette* in pursuance of the order of the Court of Directors of 1825. Grant's appointment to the Government Press was in contravention of those orders. Sir Charles Metcalfe in supporting the appointment recorded the view that the exclusion of the servants of the Company from the conduct of newspapers was unfortunate because the Press would then remain in the hands of those who "however loyal as British subjects, are disaffected towards the Hon'ble Company." He added: "I much regret that the orders of the Court of Directors have not left employment in the Press open to all their servants, excepting those in high official stations, and especially to gentlemen in the medical line, on the indispensable condition that such employment should not be allowed to interfere with the due discharge of public duties."

In the same note Sir Charles Metcalfe expressed his views on the freedom of the Press as follows:

"Since the enactment of the Local law, by which newspapers are printed under a licence, revocable at pleasure, the proprietors and editors being responsible for the contents, it has been found expedient to admit a considerable latitude of discussion; nor can this be avoided without adopting one or two courses; either employment of the extreme measure of extinction on every construed breach of regulation which would be harsh, and excite popular disgust, or entering into a continual expostulatory and inculpatory correspondence with the editors, which would be quite derogatory and disreputable to the Government, and much more likely to bring it into ridicule and contempt, than any freedom of discussion.

I take it as universally granted that the Press ought to be free, subject, of course, to the laws, provided it be not dangerous to the stability of our Indian Empire.

Should it ever threaten to become so, the local Government ought undoubtedly to possess the power of protecting the safety of the State against this or any other danger, from whatever quarter it may come, because it is impossible in this distant region, that we can be protected on emergency by any enactments of the legislature of the mother country.

But at present there is no sympotom of danger from the freedom of the Press, in the hands of either Europeans or Natives, and the power being reserved to provide for the public safety against any danger by which it may at any time be menaced, to crush what is itself capable of great good from an apprehension that it may possibly, under circumstances as yet unconceived, be converted into an evil, would be a forecast more honoured in the breach than the observance".

The question of the freedom of the Press was again raised in 1830 when the Court of Directors, in order to meet the financial liabilities incurred in the first Burma War, decided to apply the axe to Army officers' allowances. The order which was known as the "Half-Bhatta" Order was the subject of persistent criticism in the Press. Lord Bentinck himself regarded the order as extremely unwise and fraught with mischief. He was nevertheless apprehensive of the effect of the agitation on the Army which recalled to him the circumstances which led to the mutiny of Madras officers in 1809. His minute embodying the decision to impose restrictions on the Press, in this behalf, is interesting for the comparison he drew between the state of the Press in Madras in 1809 and 1830 as well as for the views he expressed that the Press is a safety-valve for discontent:

"The order itself, so many years the topic of discussion and of contention between the authorities in England and in India, was quite sufficient to excite universal dissatisfaction, and it is quite as clear that it could only be set at rest by a definite resolution of the superior authority. The Adjutant-General of the Madras army who was at the time at Calcutta, described the angry feeling and language so loudly expressed here, and all the signs of the times, to be precisely similar to those which prevailed before the Madras Mutiny, and he anticipated a similar explosion. Let it be remarked that the mutiny did take place at Madras; and though there was not a shadow of liberty belonging to the press there, the communication and interchange of sentiment and concert was as general as if it had passed through the medium of a daily press, without the reserve which the responsibility of the editor more or less requires for his own security. My firm belief is that more good than harm was produced by the open and public declaration of the sentiments of the army. There was vent to public feeling, and the mischief was open to public view; and the result is so far confirmatory of the opinion here given, that no overt act took place".

Nevertheless, Lord Bentinck drew a distinction between discussion of a proposal and clamour against and censure of a final decision given by the supreme authority, and favoured the imposition of a ban on all further discussion in the later case in the Press.

William Butterworth Bayley, with whose views on the Press the reader should by now be familiar, expressed himself strongly in favour of the decision. Sir Charles Metcalfe, on the other hand, opposed restriction on the ground that the freedom of discussion had had the good effect of providing an outlet for feelings strongly held against an unpopular measure; it gave an assurance to those who resented the order that their complaint had been made known. It was Sir Charles Metcalfe's contention that the worst had already been said, that the arguments had been exhausted and that the subject was worn out. He further held that any restrictions imposed on the

Press at that stage would cause fresh irritation and provide a new grievance*.

The Governor-General's Council, however decided by a majority (Lord Dalhousie, the Commander-in-Chief being absent) in favour of the restriction which was forthwith imposed. It was, however, the only prohibitory order issued during Lord Bentinck's regime.

In 1834, Sir Frederick Adam, the Governor of Madras, in a communication to the Governor-General, submitted that a regulation should be enacted in the Presidency of Madras requiring the licensing of printing presses, but the Governor-General advised that the introduction of such regulations should be postponed in order to enable him to consult the members of the Law Commission on the subject.

A petition remarkable for its joint submission by the Indian and European journalists of Calcutta, was presented to the Governor-General-in Council on February 6, 1835. It was signed by William Adam, Dwarkanath Tagore, Russick Lal Mullick, E. M. Gordon, Russomoy Dutt, L. L. Clarke, C. Hogg, T. H. Burkin, David Hare, T. E. M. Turton, Young and J. Sutherland. The representation covered the entire ground of restrictions imposed on the Press under the Adam regulations of April 4, 1823, and the auxiliary regulation issued the same year for the control of printing presses. The point made were:

(1) That the restrictions imposed were not only useless but mischievous and degrading both to Government and the Press;

**Note*:—In the same minute Sir Charles Metcalfe expressed himself strongly on the general question of the freedom of the Press, as follows:—

"I have, for my own part, always advocated the liberty of the Press, believing its benefits to outweigh its mischiefs; and I continue of the same opinion.

Admitting that the liberty of the Press, like other liberties of the subject, may be suspended when the safety of the State requires such a sacrifice, I cannot, as a consequence, acknowledge that the present instance ought to be made an exception to the usual practice of the Government; for if there were danger to the State, either way, there would be more, I should think, in suppressing the publication of opinions, than in keeping the valve open, by which bad humours might evaporate. To prevent men from thinking and feeling is impossible; and I believe it to be wiser to let them give vent to their temporary anger, in anonymous letters in the newspapers, the writers of which letters remain unknown, than to make that anger permanent by forcing them to smother it within their own breasts, ever ready to burst out. It is no more necessary to take notice of such letters now than it was before.

The Government which interferes at its pleasure with the Press becomes responsible for all that it permits to be published. We continually see in the Calcutta papers gross abuse of public authorities; and we answered to the complaint of one that this Government did not interfere with the Press or something to that effect. I think that we made a similar assertion in a communication to the governor of a foreign settlement. How can we say such things at one time, and at another interfere with the Press, at it is now proposed to do?

If I could think it sound policy to shackle the Press I should prefer the steady operation of the censorship, or any fixed rule, to the occasional interference of the Government by its arbitrary will. Every letter addressed by the Government to the editor of a newspaper has always appeared to me to be derogatory to the Government; and the Bengal Government has been exposed to more ridicule from this sort of correspondence than from any other cause. It is true that the power now exists of converting ridicule into terror by the destruction of the property, but who can desire to see a newspaper impertinence brought to such an end? Even punishment has sometimes proved a farce, the real offender soon reappearing in the field, with new honour as a pretended murderer".

(2) That Englishmen who came to India outside the Company's service should not be considered as having been admitted on sufferance but as being as interested in the maintenance of national power and supremacy as the proprietors of the Company and its servants and that coming to India could not deprive them of the rights enjoyed by them in England;

(3) That the publication of journals in English did not constitute a danger to the supremacy of the ruling power because the number of the natives of India conversant with the language was deplorably small and confined to the limits of Calcutta;

(4) That danger to the supremacy of the ruling power from publications in the vernacular languages could not justify the prohibition of all printing or publishing in such languages without a licence;

(5) That there was greater danger of dissemination of libels and false intelligence among the native soldiery by written rather than by printed libels, and that periodical publications would dispel ignorance and correspondingly diminish the credulity of those towards whom such writings were directed with a view to mislead and subvert them. That prohibitions against the circulation of obnoxious native publications were uncalled for as the Government could prevent the circulation of such publications by the imposition of stamp duties; it was pointed out that newspapers are still subjected to a heavy rate of postage:

The petitioners appealed for the abolition of the then existing rules and regulations as also the notification issued on April 9, 1807, forbidding public meetings without the prior sanction of the Government obtained by an application setting forth the subjects to be discussed at such meetings. The petitioners further urged that if the Government proposed to promulgate any new law in place of the regulations whose abolition was sought, an opportunity should be afforded to those who were likely to be affected by it to raise such objections as in their judgment they deemed necessary. The reply of the Government to this petition contained the following assurances:

"The unsatisfactory state of the laws relating to the Press has already attracted the notice of His Lordship-in-Council and he trusts that in no long time a system will be established which, while it gives security to every person engaged in the fair discussion of public measures, will effectually secure the Government against sedition and individuals against calumny.

"His Lordship-in-Council agrees with you in thinking that such a measure, before it is finally passed into a law, ought to be submitted to the public and that all classes of the community ought to have an opportunity of offering their comments and suggestions with respect to it.

"His Lordship-in-Council does not conceive that the inhabitants of Calcutta are prohibited by any rule now in force from meeting for purposes of discussion. They already, as it appears to his Lordship-in-Council, enjoy the liberty which they solicit nor has the Government any intention of restricting that liberty."

The month following the communication of these assurances (on February 6, 1835) Lord William Bentinck was compelled to resign owing to ill-health and Sir Charles Metcalf as Senior Member of Council assumed the Governor-Generalship.

CHAPTER V

REPEAL OF THE ORDINANCE

Sir Charles Metcalfe held strong views on the freedom of the Press to which he gave frank and full expression whenever the question was raised directly or indirectly. He was fully aware of the fact that the weight of opinion at the highest level both in India and in England, was against his own cherished principles. He had already established for himself in other spheres of the administration a reputation for firm and resolute action even if it meant incurring the displeasure of a near friend or the highest authority. He knew, as well as anybody else, that the Court of Directors had, in the past, approved or acquiesced in the imposition of the most rigid restrictions on the freedom of the Press. He also knew that the relaxation of these, restrictions, whenever it was mooted or given effect to, was supported by arguments purporting to achieve more effective control. This ominous background did not deter him from giving effect to the policies which as a member of the Governor-General's Council he had persistently and resolutely advocated. Lord Bentincks' Government had advised the Madras Government to desist from adopting a Press licensing regulation pending the reference of the entire question of Press Laws to the Law Commission. The Calcutta petitioners were told that the unsatisfactory state of the Press Laws had already attracted the notice of the Governor-General-in-Council. In fulfilment of these undertakings Sir Charles Metcalfe invited Macaulay, the Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, to draft a Press Act presumably to be incorporated in the code which was being drawn up by the Law Commission. In his argument in favour of the new Act Macaulay pointed out that the licensing regulations were indefensible and should, therefore, be repealed. It was his contention that while the regulations were rigid and comprehensive, the Press in India was in practical effect a free Press. He was of opinion that it was unwise of the Government to incur the odium of repressive Press laws which in their application did not ensure the smallest accession of security or of power. "It seems to be acknowledged", Macaulay wrote, "that licences to print ought not to be refused or withdrawn except under very peculiar circumstances, and if peculiar circumstances should arise, there will not be the smallest difficulty in providing measures adapted to the exigency. No government in the world is better provided with the means of meeting extraordinary dangers by extraordinary precautions. Five persons, who may be brought together in half an hour, whose deliberations are secret, who are not shocked by any of those forms which elsewhere delay legislative measures, can, in a single sitting, make a law for stopping every press in India. Possessing as we do the unquestionable power to interfere, whenever the safety of the State may require it, with overwhelming rapidity and energy, we surely ought not, in quiet times, to be constantly keeping the offensive form and ceremonial of despotism before the eyes of those whom nevertheless we permit to enjoy the substance of freedom. It is acknowledged that in reality liberty is and ought to be the general rule, and restraint the rare and temporary exception. Why then should not the form correspond with the

reality? ...." After drawing attention to the absence of any restriction on the Press in Madras, Macaulay concludes: "The Act which I now propose is intended to remove both evils, and to establish a perfect unformity in the laws regarding the Press throughout the Indian Empire. Should it be adopted, every person who chooses will be at liberty to set up a newspaper without applying for a previous permission. But no person will be able to print or publish sedition or calumny without imminent risk of punishment."

The Governor-General's minute summing up the argument is brief and conclusive:

"The reasons which induced me to propose to the Council the abolition of the existing restrictions on the Press in India accord entirely with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Macaulay in the minute accompanying the draft of an Act, which at our request, he has had the kindness to prepare, with a view to give effect to the unanimous resolution of the Council. These reasons were as follows: First, that the Press ought to be free, if consistently with the safety of the State it can be. In my opinion it may be so. I do not apprehend danger to the state from a free Press; but if danger to the state should arise the Legislative Council has the power to apply a remedy. Secondly that the Press is already practically free, and that the Government has no intention to enforce the existing restrictions, while we have all the odium of those restrictions, as if the Press were shackled. It is no argument in favour of the continuance of these unpopular restrictions that they may at any time be enforced, for if restrictions should be necessary to ward off danger from the state, they may be imposed and enforced instanter. Thirdly that the existing restrictions leave room for the exercise of caprice on the part of the governments in India. One Council or one Governor may be for leaving the Press free; another may be for restraining it. There is no certain law, and any one connected with the Press might be any day subjected to arbitrary and tyrannical power for any slight violation of rules, the total violation of which has been long tacitly sanctioned. Fourth, the different state of the law, or the want of any law, at the other presidencies, renders the enactment of some general law for all India indispensable. To extend the odious and useless restrictions which now exist is out of the question; and no law, in my opinion, could be devised with any good effect except a law making the Press free. We are much indebted to Mr. Macaulay for the Act which he has had the goodness to prepare for us. The penal provisions which it contains have been already partially discussed, and will come more fully under consideration at the next Council. They are, I conclude, unavoidable; but they show how much easier it is to rescind laws than to make them, for while the existing restrictions are got rid of in a few words, we are compelled to make a long enactment for the sole purpose of making printers and publishers accessible to the laws of the land.

Calcutta, April 17. C. T. Metcalfe.

H. T. Prinsep senior Member of the Governor-General's Council, expressed disagreement with this view. It may be mentioned here that he was the leader of the Orientalists on the Committee of Public Instruction of 1835, in their opposition to Macaulay's famous minute in favour of imparting education in India through the medium of English. It was Prinsep's view that Indians should be left free "to determine their own media and courses of instruction and that a denial of this freedom of choice may lead to distrust as well as irritation." In his minute on the new Press Act, he emphasised the importance of Government keeping a watchful eye particularly on the "native" Press. "I do not contemplate entirely without apprehension the encouragment of the growth of the native Press, which, judging from the spirit of discontent produced by our first experiments in the work of education threatens to be hostile," he wrote and added: "I dread that in its consequences the native Press may be subversive of good order and discipline: but the experiment has been commenced of leaving this Press free, and we have, therefore, now only the choice of endeavouring to

influence it, and to give it a proper direction, or of abiding the result, leaving it to pursue its own course, in the confidence that we shall be strong enough to cope with it when we see danger. The late Governor-General appears to have looked upon the existing Press laws of this Presidency as good materials to have available in case the necessity should arise for State interference with the Press. Therefore, although himself the last person to think of acting under them, and withdrawing any newspaper licence for attacks on the Government or its officers, he would not deprive his successors of the means of controlling the Press if they should be disposed to use it." Prinsep regarded the Press regulations as ineffective and on that ground supported their repeal and he suggested certain amendments in the proposed new law to make it more effective.

Lt. Colonel Morison, another Member of Council, also expressed apprehension at allowing freedom to the "native" Press. He suggested the appointment of a responsible officer to watch the operations of the Indian Language Press and he urged it should be made clear to all printers and publishers that Government had the power of putting a stop forthwith to the operations of any press which in its publications indulged in sedition or in discussion dangerous to public tranquillity.

Sir Charles Metcalfe in a final minute rejected Col. Morison's proposal as likely to subject the Press to the exercise of arbitrary power. He also rejected the proposal make by Col. Morison that a special officer should be entrusted with the task of keeping a watch on the "native" Press. The relevant passages in Sir Charles Metcalfe's minute are reproduced in full here as they have an important bearing on the Vernacular Press Act which new law to make it more effective.

"I think that in all our legislation we ought to be very careful not to make invidious distinctions between European and native subjects. As the proposed law now stands, it will be an act of grace, confidence, and conciliation towards all; and may be expected to produce the effect which such acts are calculated to produce. But if it were alloyed by enactments indicating distrust towards our native fellow subjects, the effect could not fail to be bad on their minds. We should be telling them that we calculated on their disaffection, and dreaded the effect of free discussion. Before we follow such a course, we ought, I conceive, to wait for proof that it is necessary. The native Press has for years been as free as the European and I am not aware that any evil has ensued. It is not certain that the effect of free discussion on the minds of the natives must be wholly and solely bad. It may in many respects be otherwise. It may remove erroneous and substitute just impressions. Along with equal legislation and establishment of equal rights, it may serve to promote union with them. It may make the Government better acquainted with their feelings, and better able to provide for their wants and their happiness. Disaffection and sedition will operate, I believe, with more concealed weapons than an open and free Press, under the guidance of responsible persons amenable to the laws, from which I do not apprehend that we have anything to fear, unless we must necessarily fear the progress of knowledge; but do what we will we cannot prevent the progress of knowledge, and it is undoubtedly our duty to promote it whatever may be the consequences. It is quite unnecessary to take any measures to watch the proceedings of the native Press. They will soon bring themselves to our notice if they require any peculiar precautions. The present is not a new experiment. It is merely a continuance of one which has been practically tried without any bad effect for several years.

"I am, therefore, of opinion that any restraint on the native Press beyond what is imposed on the European would be injudicious; and that any restraint on either, beyond that of the laws, is not requisite. The Act proposed will be productive of good by giving general satisfaction and promoting knowledge. Admitting that in other respects its ultimate consequences cannot be with certainty predicted, I see no reason to anticipate

that they must be injurious; and think it will be time to check what is in itself good when we see that it is likely to produce bad effects, and that we cannot do good with impunity; but if our rule in India is to come to that, we may be sure that we cannot long retain it. A tenure dependent on attempts to suppress the communication of public opinion could not be lasting; both because such a tenure must be rotten, and because such attempts must fail".

After these views were recorded, the new Act was passed by the Governor-General with the unanimous support of his Council. The Bengal Press regulations of 1823 and the Bombay Press regulations of 1825 and 1827 were repealed. The new Act was applicable in its operation to the territories of the East India Company. It provided for a declaration by the printer and publisher of any newspaper or periodical, giving a true and precise account of the premises of publication. In the event of a change in the place of printing or publication or the printer or publisher leaving the territories of the East India Company a fresh declaration would be necessary. The penalty for non-declaration was a fine not exceeding Rs. 5,000 and imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years. It was open to a printer or publisher to cease to function as such by a similar declaration to that effect. It was required that every book or paper printed in a Press after due declaration should bear the name of the printer or publisher and the place of publication. The penalty was the same as the penalty for non-declaration.

The Madras Government on receiving a copy of the new Act asked for an interpretation by the Governor-General-in-Council of the Court of Directors' order of 1825 prohibiting persons in the Company's employ from accociation with a newspaper as editor or proprietor. The Government of India replied that the prohibition referred to covenanted and commissioned servants of the Company and not to uncovenanted servants employed by the Government and liable to removal without reference to the Court of Directors. Thus every detail had been taken care of and every doubt removed.

It is apparent from the despatch addressed by the Court of Directors to Sir Charles Metcalfe that they were furious with him for having substituted the new law for the old without prior reference to them. "We are compelled to observe", the despatch runs, "that this proceeding must be considered the most unjustifiable inasmuch as it has been adopted by a Government only provisional; and also, when a Commission for framing a code of laws for the three presidencies was about to commence its important labours." The complaint was that there was no sufficient reason for the step taken and no detailed account of the condition and character of the Press and the influence which it exerted on the British and the Indian communities. The Court of Directors evidently saw no difference between having a permanent repressive law on the statute book and the exercise of the inherent right of any Government to protect itself in an emergency by assuming special powers appropriate to the emergency. The last paragraph of the despatch left it open to Sir Charles Metcalfe to reinstate the old laws under threat that the Court may by final decision restore their operation:

"We should, then, be prepared at once to avail ourselves of the power entrusted to us by Act of Parliament, and disallow your new law when passed, were we not aware that the immediate repeal of such a law, however ill-advised and uncalled for its enactment may have been, might be productive of mischievous results. We shall, therefore, wait for the deliberate advice of the Governor-General-in-Council after the arrival of Lord Auckland, your present Governor-General before we communicate to you

our final decision. But you are in possession of our sentiments, and we shall not be sorry to find that by returning to the former system, you have rendered our interference unnecessary".

The Court of Directors found more than one opportunity to make it clear to Sir Charles Metcalfe that his conduct had neither been forgotten nor forgiven but, at the same time, Lord Auckland was in no mood to reverse Sir Charles Metcalfe's liberalization of policy towards the Indian Press. On the contrary with the consent of the Court of Directors he revoked the prohibition against the connection of the Company's servants with newspapers.

Between 1836 and 1856, the period covering the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge I and Lord Dalhousie there was no major development in the sphere of Government policy towards the Press. Under Sir Charles Metcalfe's Act No. XI 1835, the Press in India developed rapidly not only in Bengal, Bombay and Madras but also in the North West Provinces. In Bengal, the growth was perhaps unhealthy because a number of journals was started and ceased to exist within a year or two or three years after first publication.

Lord Auckland seems to have taken steps to keep the Press informed on certain aspects of Government policy in order to obviate the danger of their going astray in the publication of news and comments. J. H. Stocqueler, who acquired *John Bull* in the 1830 financial crash from Messrs. Cruttenden McKillop and Co., and converted it into the *Englishman*, complained in 1842 that Lord Ellenborough had discontinued the useful practice instituted by his predecessor of giving the editors a digest of the intelligence received daily from the vicinity of Afghanistan. On the editor's personal representation the practice was resumed but again discontinued. Stocqueler recorded that the action of the Governor-General left the public in the dark about conditions in Afghanistan and gave room for speculation and the spread of false rumours. Lord Ellenborough was in an unenviable position. The situation in Jalalabad and Kabul was obscure. Sir Alexander Burnes who was sent on a commercial mission to Dost Muhammed and two others had been murdered in Kabul on November 2nd, 1841, and Sir Wilson Macnaghten, the British Envoy, on December 23rd. Lord Auckland was anxious not to commit his successor Lord Ellenborough, who disapproved of the Afghan War, to any pre-determined policy, and Lord Ellenborough himself took the first opportunity to make his views clear in his dispatch of March 15th, 1842:

"All these circumstances, followed as they have been by the universal hostility of the whole people of Afghanistan, united at the present moment against us in a war which has assumed a religious, as well as national character, compel us to adopt the conclusion that the possession of Afghanistan, could we recover it, would be a source of weakness, rather than of strength, in resisting the invasion of any army from the west, and therefore, that the ground upon which the policy of the advance of our troops to that country mainly rested, has altogether ceased to exist".

In a period of changing policy a daily or even a weekly digest of news for publication in the Press as officially authenticated might have been considered embarrassing to the Government. The Governor-General evidently did not think it expedient to provide the Press with a daily digest of intelligence.

Lord Ellenborough was confronted with another problem—publication in the Press by officials of official documents in vindication of their own position in a newspaper controversy. Colonel William Sleeman published certain official documents relating to himself, including certain orders issued by

Lord Ellenborough, and the Governor-General had an order issued directing officers of the two Services that "official documents and papers were in no case to be made public or communicated to individuals without the previous consent of the Government to which alone they belong." It is necessary to understand the background to this order in the light of the circumstance of servants of the Company being permitted to own or otherwise participate in the production of a newspaper. From very early days the Government found it necessary to issue instructions to newspapers prohibiting the publication of official orders and deliberations to which they could not have had access except through the good offices of a highly placed official. Lord Ellenborough acted wisely in restraining the official instead of reprimanding the editor after the event of publication.

The officials and the Press, however, did not accept the order in this light and it was their contention that the Government had thereby been deprived of authoritative defenders. We have Sir Charles Trevelyan, a frequent contributor to the Press under the assumed name of "Indophilus", asserting the view that "there cannot be a greater evil than that public officers should be exempted from the control of public opinion". Sir Charles Trevelyan contributed his first article to the Press in somewhat unusual circumstances. He had been commissioned by Lord William Bentinck to draw up a scheme for the navigation of the Indus. He submitted a note on the subject to the Governor-General, which was made available to the Bombay Press through the Governor of that Presidency. Subsequent correspondence in the Press called for elucidation of points raised and Sir Charles Trevelyan provided it in a series of articles signed "Indophilus". It may be recalled here that even Sir Charles Metcalfe, the champion of the freedom of the Press, deplored as impolitic the direction of the Court of Directors that servants of the Company should be "utterly precluded from the employment of their talent in the operations of the Press". It is from this confusion between what may be officially communicated to the Press and what should not as well as by whom, that the Official Secrets Act and later the idea of Government official publicity was later evolved.

The Government had to consider twice during this 20-year period (1836-1856) whether it should own a newspaper of its own—once during Lord Auckland's regime and again in 1848 when Lord Dalhousie felt the need for support for his policy of annexation but on both occasions the idea was dropped.

Mention may be made here of certain significant developments during this period. The Charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1853 for the last time. Sir Charles Wood's famous despatch on education was recorded in 1854 and proposed the establishment of Committees of Public Instruction in the Provinces and the founding of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and Government adopted the policy of giving grants-in-aid to private educational institutions. A beginning was made in railway transport in 1853. A telegraph line was constructed from Calcutta to Bombay via Agra, another from Bombay to Madras and a third from Agra to Peshawar. The lines were opened for general traffic in 1855.

CHAPTER VI

REFORM AND REACTION

It would be appropriate here to pause and survey the factors that stimulated or otherwise influenced the development of the Press and to understand the contents of newspapers and periodicals of the time. Reference has already been made to the pioneering effort of Raja Ram Mohan Roy whose first essay was to defend Hinduism against the attacks made on Hindu beliefs and religious practices by the Missionaries. At the same time he recognised and urged no less fervently the need for Hindu religious and social reform. He was anxious that his fellow countrymen should break through the encrustations of age-old tradition and social customs and assimilate the progressive ideas of the West with a view to achieving and sustaining their own moral and material progress. In pursuance of this essential object he opposed the establishment of the Sanskrit College on the ground that it "can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society". He was a staunch advocate of education through the medium of English in the higher schools and colleges and Lord Macaulay's minute of 1835 clinched a protracted controversy in favour of Ram Mohan Roy. Reference has already been made to the prominent part played by Ram Mohan Roy and his supporters in securing the abolition of *sati,* and as a natural corollary to it he urged legislation to ensure for the widow an equal share of inheritance with her sons on the death of the father of the family as well as a law permitting the marriage of widows. He was also a champion of female education.

Later the Christian Missionaries submitted two memorials to the Governor-General on subjects which had been agitated in the Press for some time. The first of these dated March 19, 1850, was addressed to Lord Dalhousie and prayed for the withdrawal of the annual grant to the temple of Jagannath. The memorialists represented:

"The great masses of unhappy men and women gathered from all parts of India round the shrine believe, not only that the British Government acknowledges the divinity of Jagannath, but that it is most anxious that the worship of that idol should be celebrated on a magnificent scale; and the priests and pandahs connected with the temple, who fatten on the misery and credulity of the pilgrims, do everything in their power to strengthen them in this conviction. They rebuke the missionaries publicly, and represent them to the people as factious opponents of the Government; and they triumphantly appeal to its annual pecuniary donation as an unanswerable proof that it approves of their superstition, and desires that idolatry should be maintained as the religion of land. Your memorialists, therefore, cannot but express their deep-felt regret that the Government of this country, by its support of the Temple of Jagannath, should, thus virtually throw the weight of its influence into the scale of idolatry, and thereby, without intending it, impede the progress of the gospel of peace and love."

The memorial was signed by 37 missionaries representing the General Baptist Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the American Free Baptist Missionary Society, the Free Church of Scotland and the London Missionary Society.

The other representation related to the safeguarding of the property inheritance rights of Indian converts to Christianity. The Bengal Regulation VII of 1832 provided that "whenever in any civil suit the parties to such suits may be of different persuasions, when one party shall be of Hindu and the other of the Mohammadan persuasion, or when one or more of the parties to the suit shall be either of the Mohammedan or Hindu persuasions, the laws of those religions shall not be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which but for the operation of such laws they would have been entitled; in all such cases the decision shall be governed by the principles of justice, equity, and good conscience". The implications of this law were not clearly understood at the time it was enacted and it would appear that the protection it afforded had not been availed of in any court of law.

The first representation was made in this matter by the Bishop of Bombay on January 11, 1845, suggesting that the Bengal Regulation should be extended to the territories of Bombay Presidency. The Government of India in a reply dated February 24th stated that an appropriate Act had been prepared and submitted for the consideration of the Legislative Council. The Bishop of Bombay in a further communication dated March 28, 1849, drew the attention of the Governor-General-in-Council to the fact that although the draft Act had been published in the Bombay Government Gazette in 1845, no further action had been taken in the matter. J. E. D. Bethune commented on the draft Act and the Bishop's letter as follows:—

"I have prepared an Act for this purpose, though with some lingering doubt of the justice of the measure. According to Hindoo notions, the right which a son has to succeed to his father's property is commensurate with his obligation to perform his funeral obsequies, from which the outcaste is necessarily excluded."

"I have endeavoured so to prepare the Act as not to give it the slightest possible appearance of interfering with the religious notions of the natives, and yet by the preamble have called sufficient attention to its purpose, for those who will take the trouble to examine it, as I think ought to be done in all laws, which should not be passed by stealth."

Many representations were made on the subject to the Governor-General-in-Council, the most important of which were a memorial by the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and another from the "native" inhabitants of the Presidency of Fort St. George. Both expressed themselves in vehement opposition to the proposed measure, the Madras memorial being the more strongly worded of the two. The memorial on behalf of the Indian Christians in support of the measure was drafted by Krishna Mohan Banerjee, editor of the *Inquirer*, and signed by him and others. Bethune's note summing up the controversy and deciding in favour of the legislation, however, closed the issue and after further consultation and drafting, Act No. XXI of 1850 of 1950 was passed providing that:—

"So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company, as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Chapter within the said territories."

It may be mentioned here that the orthodox Hindus, argument that the legislation was intended to facilitate proselytization is borne out by the fact that many Christian Missionaries and others believed that their efforts were

not as successful as they might otherwise have been because the native converts had no protection in their civil rights and immunities. Leitch Ritchie wrote at the time:—

"This alteration of the law will be worth a whole army of Missionaries—or, to speak more generously of these devoted men, it will act as their pioneer by removing the obstructions which have hitherto rendered their advance almost impossible."

On the other hand, it is equally apparent that the Hindu memorialists were not averse to the restriction on the right of inheritance acting as a deterrent to conversion. Actually, however, neither the hopes of the one section nor the fears of the other were realised.

The other piece of social legislation was the Hindu Widow's Re-marriage Act XV of 1856 sponsored by Sir J. P. Grant as Member of Council. The Act provided:

"No marriage contracted between Hindus shall be invalid and the issue of no such marriage shall be illegitimate by reason of the woman having been previously married or betrothed to another person who was dead at the time of such marriage, any custom and any interpretation of Hindu law to the contrary notwithstanding."

The preamble made the point that although the legal incapacity was in accordance with the established custom, it was the belief of many Hindus that it was not in accordance with the true interpretation of the precepts of their religion. This piece of legislation was in a category apart from other social legislations because, the orthodox injunction notwithstanding, Hindu parents were greatly distressed by the sufferings of their child widow daughters. It was Raja Ram Mohan Roy who first drew attention to the iniquity of child wives being condemned to perpetual widowhood on the death of their husbands. Although it was the inevitable corollary to the abolition of *sati,* it could not, for obvious reasons, be agitated immediately after the widow had been saved from the funeral pyre of her husband. But the feeling of the parent or guardian of a child widow was nevertheless there and Babu Shyama Charan Das sought a dispensation from the pundits of the country in favour of a youthful widowed daughter's re-marriage. The proposition he put forward was that "the widowed daughter of a shudra who had not known her husband and who was unable to practice the higher virtue of concremation with her husband's corpse, or endurance of the hardships of a life of widowhood" could be remarried without repugnance to the Shastras. The question was discussed at the residence of Raja Sir Radhakanta Dev, the leader of orthodox Hindus of Calcutta, and a special certificate of permission was granted over the signature of a number of pundits. The relaxation applied to Shudra girls only and even so it was declared that it should not be regarded as a precedent.

The ball had, however, been set rolling and Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar inspired by his mother undertook a research into the Hindu scriptures the publication of the results of which roused a storm of controversy of which Sitanath Tattva Bhusan writes:

"The publication of the pamphlet caused an immense sensation in the country. Some enlightened and educated reformers hailed it with intense delight, while many, the leaders of orthodoxy, the hereditary exponents of the scriptures, ranged themselves violently against it and many came forward to protest against the heretical and revolutionary opinions broached by a young scholar of an obscure village in the interior, without fortune or fame, and without any pretensions to entitle him to the great honour and

importance that he was in a fair way of earning in preference to greyheaded and recognised expounders of the ancient law. Replies to Vidyasagar's pamphlet followed fast one upon another; and what is infinitely more to be deplored, those very Pandits who had written out and attested the rule granted to Babu Shyamacharan Das in favour of the re-marriage of his daughter, now ranged themselves on the side of the opposition to Vidyasagar's movement. A second pamphlet was written and published by Pandit Isvarchandra, answering all the objections that had been raised by his critics against his decision. It was based upon ancient and accepted Sastric authorities. He proved the accuracy of his authorities and the validity of his interpretations of the scriptural texts cited in his favour."

The battle was thus well and truly joined and carried into the stronghold of orthodoxy. Vidyasagar's arguments put courage into the hearts of many who were willing to brave the displeasure of orthodoxy and have their young widowed daughters or wards remarried. The law was, however, against it, and Vidyasagar addressed himself resolutely to the task of having it amended. He had the support of many members of the Legislative Council. He drew up a petition to which was attached a draft Bill. A thousand Hindus of Bengal signed it and the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Grant impressed by Vidyasagar's earnestness undertook to pilot the measure in the Council. Petitions followed from other parts of the country with some 5,000 signatories and there were 33 counter-petitions signed by some 60,000 persons. Grant, in moving the Bill, said that he did not mean that the wishes of 60,000 persons should be disregarded, merely because they opposed the measure of which he was sponsor. But he drew the attention of the Council to the fact that while not one of the 60,000 had a personal interest in the measure, every one of the 5,000 persons who had petitioned in its favour had "a strong individual and personal interest in it". He warned the Council that if it should refuse to pass the Bill every one of the 5,000 might have occasion to call it to account for having refused to do that which would have saved the domestic happiness and perhaps the honour of its family. Another Member, Colvin, said that if he knew certainly that but one little girl would be saved from the horrors of Brahmacharya by the passing of this Act he would pass it for her sake.

Within 5 months of the passing of the Act, the first widow remarriage took place and in the next five years 25 such marriages were celebrated, the majority of them of Brahmins and Kayasthas.

For a number of reasons, however, the chief of which was that the husbands of remarried widows demanded sums of money from the generous Vidyasagar under threat of desertion, the widow re-marriage movement suffered a setback even in the life-time of its founder. The Brahmo Samaj took up the work and many widows were rescued from the prison of their homes. And the movement received a further stimulus when Sasipada Banerji and his wife took up the cause of women's education as well as widow re-marriage and founded the first widow's home in Barahanagar. He had trained in the work his own daughter Banalata Devi who edited a lady's magazine while still a child. Her death in her teens was a great blow to her father.

The subject of social reform legislation has been dealt with at some length, because it had an important influence on the growth of the Press and on the policies of newspapers particularly in Bengal. Thus the *Chandrika* which strongly defended the practice of *sati* and saw Raja Ram Mohan Roy's *Sambad Kaumudi* off the field, opposed the teaching of

English to Indians on the ground that it incapacitated them in the performance of sacred rites. It also opposed the change in the law of inheritance and bitterly attacked the Missionaries. At the time that the legislation abolishing *sati* was adopted, some seven newspapers came into existence in its defence. When the orthodox representation to the King failed, one of these newspapers, the *Ratnaboli* wrote:

"The King of England is not incharge of the Government; the people make a King of their own as in Bengal an earthen pot is put up and worshipped."

The *Prabhakar* edited by Ishwar Chander Gupta gained a reputation for elegance in style and the quality of its literary articles. It engaged in a controversy, however, with the editor of the *Durpan* on the subject of female education and wrote, "by the burning heat of the Prabhakar, a fire instantly springing up from the bowels of the ancient Darpan, has burnt up his heap of cotton-like arguments for the education of women". The *Purnachandrodaya* started as an orthodox paper and deplored the spread of English and the decline of Hinduism. It started as a daily but was later converted into a weekly and advocated popular education. It was credited with a circulation of 800 in 1839. A paper which acquired a great reputation was the tri-weekly *Bhaskar*. Its editor, Shrinath Roy, wielded a caustic pen and was generally feared by those who attracted its attention. The Raja of Andul was criticised severely by the *Bhaskar* for expelling two Brahmins from the Dharma Sabha and for compelling a Brahmin to marry a Vaishnav. The Raja arranged for the editor to be beaten up with clubs and then carried to Andul where he was confined in a damp, dark room. His right hand was pounded with a pestle as a punishment for writing the offending article against the Raja. Shrinath Roy, however, managed to escape. He prosecuted the Raja who was fined a thousand rupees by the Supreme Court. The *Bhaskar* was conducted for many years undeterred by the experience of its editor who threw a grand evening party in 1848 on the anniversary of the birth of the paper. The guests were generously entertained and money was distributed among the Brahmins. The *Bhaskar* had a wide circulation extending to the Punjab and had subscribers even in England.

The other side of the medal was presented by a no less impressive range of papers. The *Banga Dut*, edited by Nilratan Haldar, enjoyed a great reputation as the mouth-piece of the reformers. The *Gyananeshan*, edited by two ex-students of the Hindu College, was a champion of "Vernacular" education and agricultural education. It exposed social evils among the Hindus and ridiculed the prejudice of caste Hindus against sugar on the ground that it was refined with cow's bones. In its correspondence columns were discussed social evils, the roguery of native doctors and the iniquities of local officers. The *Gyananeshan* was a strong advocate of Bengali being adopted as the Court language. It wrote, "courts of justice are not made for the judges but for the convenience of the people. A court should be considered as a temple of justice and not a college of learning; the masses in Bengal must be approached by the gates of their mother tongue."

The reformers pursued their cause through forcefully written pamphlets and plays. J. Long to whom we are indebted for the details about individual newspapers and journals writes:—

"The taste of the Hindus for dramatic performance has been employed to speed the cause of widow remarriage. Several ably written Bengali dramas have been published which in caustic and cutting language expose

the evils that arise from widow's celibacy. Some of these dramas have been acted on the stage by natives to crowded audiences both in Calcutta and Hooghly, to the intense disgust of the old school of Hindus. A drama has lately been published holding up to scorn spirit-drinking and ganja smoking. Babu P. C. Mitter, the Librarian of the Calcutta Public Library, has, with a powerful and satirical pen, pointed out the various social evils that exist among our countrymen and has a work in the press advocating by tales, anecdotes, biography, etc. the cause of female education. The outrages and oppressions of the indigo planters have called forth songs as well as pamphlets. Kulinism (Kulin Brahmins were in the habit of marrying many wives, in some cases running to twenty) and caste have been vigorously attacked and in a number of pamphlets social reform, has been powerfully advocated."

Mention has already been made of the Serampore missionary paper *Samachar Durpan* and the extensive general knowledge and information it purveyed from the remotest districts. It ceased publication in 1840. After 22 years of useful publication, it was replaced by the *Bengali Government Gazette* which published Acts of the Legislative Council, circular orders of the Sudder Dewani, Government notices and other material elucidating Government policy. J. C. Marshman, editor of the Serampore *Samachar Durpan* was appointed editor of this paper which had a large circulation and was an acknowledged medium of communication between the Government and the people.

The *Education Gazette* edited by the Revd. W. Smith and Babu Rang Lal Banerjee and published under the auspices of the Government Education Department, had a circulation of 550 copies in the different *zillas* of Bengal. It published advertisements of teachers wanted, educational notifications and articles on popular science, biography and history besides giving an epitome of general news. Its correspondence column was full of letters from mofussil contributors.

A number of papers and periodicals was started at this time to educate and enlighten the public. They served a useful purpose while they lived but they did not last long.

The palm for scurrility went to the *Rasaraj* which made a good start but later took to indulging in the ventilation of personal quarrels and obscenity. A contemporary wrote of the journal that the editor derived considerable pleasure from wounding the most delicate feelings of persons and indulging in the most scandalous language in order, as he claimed, to instil in them a sense of duty.

Some of Long's general remarks on the Press of the day are reproduced here as of interest:—

"The native newspapers are humble in appearance, yet like the ballads of a nation they often act where the law fails and as straws on a current they show its direction. In them questions of sati, caste, widow re-marriage, kulin polygamy have been argued with great skill and acuteness on both sides. They have always opposed a foreign language being the language of the courts. The atrocities of indigo planters and the blunders of young magistrates have been laid bare and letters to the editor open out a view of native society nowhere else to be found. Now and then extracts from details of crime in England are given to show that there are faults with the English too. Moral tales are frequently published......There are a number of short pieces (in verse) on the seasons and on the varied aspects and objects of nature, many of them possessing considerable poetic merit. (Ishwar Chander Gupta, editor of the *Prabhakar*, was considered the ablest poet of the time in Bengal). To each paper is attached a native acquainted with English and translation of many valuable English subjects are scattered through these papers on history, biography, natural philosophy and ethics. Some of the papers have correspondents and at the time of the Kabul

and Punjab Wars accurate information was regularly given of the progress of events".

"Whether one looks at the stagnation of village life or the need for rousing the native mind from the torpor of local selfishness, the importance of the native newspaper press is very great. Let any European look through the files of these papers and he will see there the operations of Darogas and Amlahs fully exposed, the want of roads, the fantastic tricks of young European Officials, of men in courts, of practices such as swearing on a bundle of rags which for 11 years the people had fancied was the Koran..

"If Government wish correct news to circulate in the villages they must use the vernacular press as organs for diffusing it. The enemies of the English Government are not inactive, already ideas are rapidly spreading in various districts that the English power is on the wane, that the Russians are coming to India and would govern it better than the English do.

"The number of newspapers in circulation is small compared with that of other publications. Their influence is great, extending at an average of 10 readers for each paper to 30,000 persons, and conveying to numbers in the mofussil their views relating to Government measures. The editors (have translated) the abuse freely lavished on natives by some English editors and the publication of such matter excites in the reader a spirit antagonistic to Europeans. English newspapers in too many cases cherish the spirit of antagonism of race."

CHAPTER VII

THE INDIAN LANGUAGE PRESS

The early history of newspapers in North Western Provinces is a placid one. There were no great causes, or controversies over closely contested issues to stimulate the Press. Indeed, Government found it necessary to encourage the publication of books and newspapers by various devices.

One of the first newspapers, the *Zoobdut-ool-Ukhbar,* was started in 1833 by Munshi Wajid Ali Khan in Persian. He was the editor and proprietor and commanded respect both for his tact and ability. His paper was subsidised monthly by five rulers and a rich merchant as follows:—

		Rs.
Raja of Bharatpur	..	30
Raja of Alwar	..	20
Nawab of Jhujjur	..	15
Nawab of Joura	..	10
Nawab of Hyderabad (Deccan)	..	15
Seth Luchmee Chund	..	15

These payments were made to secure the goodwill of the newspaper so that it would not publish matter which would lower the donors in the public esteem. His receipt from monthly sales amounted approximately to Rs. 140. His expenses were computed at Rs. 40 per month leaving him a profit of approximately Rs. 200 independent of revenue from advertisements. Wajid Ali Khan was a cautious editor, rarely hazarding his own opinion or in any way laying himself open to attack. Expressions of dissatisfaction were rare and when indulged in, clothed in flowery language. His sources were the English and other newspapers. Wajid Ali Khan did not favour the Europeanised way of life and his conservatism, subtly expressed, appealed to his circle of readers. His conservatism had for its target periodicals edited under the auspices of Government educational institutions such as the *Sudder-ool-Akhbar,* the Agra College paper.

The *Sudder-ool-Akhbar* was started in 1846 by one Fink. He raised financial support for the paper by issuing 200 shares of Rs. 5 each mostly to persons connected with the Agra College. The contents of the paper were restricted to general and scientific instruction presumably to enlighten the students of the College. The editor who succeeded him, however, published certain articles which were deemed libellous and objectionable and the editorship was taken away from him and given to Fallon. The name of the paper was changed and an apology was published in the first issue of the newspaper the *Ukhbar-ool-Haqayuq.* Fallon published some "injudicious remarks" regarding the slaughter of cows near Hardwar which provoked a spirited reply from the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of Meerut. It was considered that the College paper should steer clear of such controversy

both in the interests of the institution as well as to function as a medium of public enlightenment. The paper was issued twice a week and the cost of production was approximately Rs. 100 per month, a breakdown of which is given as follows:—

		Rs.	As.	P.
Sub-Editor	...	15	0	0
Copyist	...	10	0	0
Accountant &c.	...	7	0	0
Pressman	...	5	0	0
Spongeman and 2 coolies	...	8	0	0
Peon and Chowkeddar	...	8	0	0
Bheestee	...	0	12	0
Paper	...	22	0	0
Sundries	...	6	0	0
Postage	...	8	0	0
House rent	...	2	8	0
Wear and tear	...	2	0	0
Contingencies	...	5	0	0
TOTAL	...	99	0	0

Two other papers, *Ussud-ool-Ukhbar* and the *Mutba-ool-Ukhbar* were of little consequence.

Newspapers published from Delhi did not have as wide a circulation as the leading Agra papers mentioned above had. Although the *Oordoo Akhbar* of Delhi probably started publication in 1836, the *Sayyed-ul-Akhbar* is generally mentioned as the first Urdu newspaper started in Delhi in 1837. It was edited by Syed Mohammad Khan, elder brother of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, founder of the Aligarh Muslim University. Soon after the newspaper was started, the editor died and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan whose main interest was education was unable to keep the paper going. There were four newspapers published in 1844: the *Sooraj-ool-Ukhbar* (Persian), the *Syud-ool-Ukhbar*, the *Delhi Oordoo-Ukhbar* and the *Muzhur-ool-Huq*, the last three in Urdu. Three weeklies were added between 1844 and 1848, the *Qiran-oos-Sadayn*, the *Shayk-ool-Ukhbar* and the *Fawayud-ool-Shayuqeen*. The *Zia-ul-Akhbar* of Sheikh Mohammed Zia-ud-din appeared in 1849.

Mr. John Lawrence, Magistrate of Delhi, writes of the first of these newspapers as follows:—

"*The Siraj-ool-Ukhbar*, the King's paper, is published in the palace. All persons connected with it are royal servants. Only 34 copies are printed once a week (Sunday) and distributed among the King's followers for the most part but one copy is sent to the Governor-General, one to the Lt.-Governor and one to the Officer commanding the Palace guards. One rupee is retrenched from the pay of each person to support the paper. It is written in elegant but inflated Persian and has little in it beyond news of the Palace and of the King in particular when he sleeps, eats, drinks, goes out, comes in and the like. It is hardly known beyond the precincts of the Palace".

The *Syud-ool-Ukhbar* seems to have declined between 1844 and 1848, its circulation having dropped from 50 to 27 and its receipts from Rs. 78 to Rs. 34 monthly. Started in 1841, the paper was said to be the organ of the Sunni sect. Opinion is divided on the performance of the editor, one view being that his writings were bigoted and polemical and the other being that it contained items of general interest with regular notices on the buildings of Jounpoor.

The Delhi *Oordoo Ukhbar* improved its prospects in the four year interval (1844-48) from a circulation of 69 copies to 79 per issue. Income and expenditure are, however, shown as having declined by 50 per cent. probably due to unrecovered subscriptions and consequent retrenchment. The paper was run by Maulvi Mahomad Baqur and Motee Lal, a Kashmiri Pandit. Apart from the general information published in this paper, a number of letters appeared against Jaffur Ali, the Shia Arabic teacher of Delhi College, who was condemned as inefficient and thoroughly unfit for his job. A single sheet of lithographed paper, the rate of subscription was Rs. 2 per month.

The *Muzhur-ool-Huq* edited by Sheikh Imdad Hossein was said to be owned by the proprietor of the *Oordoo Ukhbar* and borrowed freely from its columns. It was described as the organ of the Shia sect but in the four-year period it had become so enfeebled as to be on the verge of closing down. The *Oordoo Ukhbar* press also issued a small well got-up weekly, the *Fawayud-oos-Shayuqeen,* edited by Pirbhoo Dial which was an Urdu version of the Government gazette. It also published questions and answers for the benefit of candidates for the Moonsiff's examination. Newly started and with a circulation of 110, it was described as having bright prospects.

The Delhi College too, like the Agra College, engaged in the publication of a newspaper and periodicals. The newspaper was the *Qiran-oos-Sadyn,* edited by Dhurm Narain, Senior Scholar of the English Department of the College. The paper dealt mostly in current events while scientific and literary articles were purveyed in three magazines—the Urdu magazine, *Mohib-i-Hind,* the *Fuwayud-oon-Nazreen;* and *Tohfat-ool-Hadayuq*—and all were printed at the Mutba-ool-Ooloom press. The college authorities do not seem to have been happy about association with the press and directed its removal from the college premises. They nevertheless, supervised the four publications already mentioned under the following arrangement:—

The Moulvis of the Arabic Department were to scrutinise all matters published in the periodicals and could delete any passage regarded by them as objectionable. After publications a copy of the weekly was to be forwarded to J. P. Gubbins, Member of the Local Committee, and a copy of each of the periodicals to Taylor, officiating Secretary of the Committee, for scrutiny.

A Persian paper, *Sadiq-ool-Ukhbar,* published in the Dar-oos-Salam press, Delhi, was described as having a limited circulation.

Bareilly's first newspaper, *Oomdut-ool-Ukhbar,* was published in 1847 by Mr. Tregear, Superintendent of the Bareilly School, from a press owned by him of the same name. It was supported by the students and the staff of the school which was a Government institution, as well as by eminent persons of the town and neighbourhood. The paper was edited by Moulvi Ubdool Ruhman and later by Luchman Pershad.

In Bareilly, too, there seems to have been difficulty about controlling other publications issued from the press and there were repeated warnings from the Government as well from the Committee of Control to the conductors of the press and the paper impressing on them the need for avoiding controversial subjects and provocative writing generally. The official report of 1848 complained of want of care in the selection of material for publication and the adoption of a tone (bordering on slang) which was calculated to give offence to educated natives. The publication of police reports and local gossip was described as out of place in a publication associated with the Government institution. The following examples are given:

(i) An attempt to ridicule the notion of the British being expelled from India is so imperfectly developed that it leaves room for misconception.

(ii) An article discusses the inconsistency of allowing widowers to remarry while widows are forbidden to do so and refers to a particular case in which a widow has been led astray.

(iii) An article on the comparative excellence of Delhi and Lucknow Urdu is objected to on the ground that it contains undesirable phrases and modes of expression.

A paper confined to current news, *Jam-i-Jamshed,* began publication weekly from Meerut in 1847. Edited by Baboo Shibchunder, it was said to be well produced with an average circulation of 100 copies per issue.

Special interest attaches to the publication of the first Banaras newspaper, two out of three of which were published in the Nagari character although the language was Urdu. We reproduce in full the observations of the Assistant Secretary to the Government in his report on the North Western Provinces Press for 1848:

"At Banaras three weekly papers are published—one in Oordoo and two in the Nagree character.

SOODHAKUR-UKHBAR, BENARAS—The *Soodhakur Ukhbar* is lithographed in the Nagree character, but partakes more of Oordoo in its language than of Hindee—the article with which the paper is commenced, and which generally treats of some subjects of interest, being the only portion which is written in the latter language. It is printed at the Soodhakur Press, by Pandit Rutneshur Tiwarry, and is said to have a circulation of 50 copies taken by Hindoos, 22 by Europeans, and 2 by Mussulmans. The receipts at one rupee per month are stated to be Rs. 74, and the monthly expenditure Rs. 50.

BENARAS UKHBAR—The two remaining papers are published by the same individual, Baboo Raghonath Futteh (Thatthe), and issued from the Benaras Ukhbar Press. The Ukhbar is lithographed in Nagree, though the language is Oordoo. The editor usually gives in each number some translation from Sanskrit books on law, and etc. but besides this, the paper contains little more than local news, and such as is gleaned from other papers.

The receipts at one rupee per mensem are reported to be Rs. 44.

	Rs.	A.	P.
From Europeans	23	0	0
From Hindoos	21	0	0

BANARAS GAZETTE—The Banaras Gazette, in Urdu, is so badly lithographed that it is often scarcely legible. It supplies the current news, but little else.

The monthly charge is one rupee, and the receipts are stated to be

	Rs.	A.	P.
From Europeans	13	0	0
From Mussulmans	5	0	0
From Hindoos	8	0	0
TOTAL . .	26	0	0

while the total expenses of the press are declared to be Rs. 99-8-0, as noted below, which would give a monthly loss upon the two papers of Rs. 29-8-0. But this may in some small degree be diminished by charges for advertisements:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Establishment	45	0	0
Paper	12	0	0
Ink	3	0	0
Paid for Newspapers	7	8	0
Postage	10	0	0
Rent	2	0	0
Contingencies	20	0	0
TOTAL .	99	8	0

In Simla too Shaikh Abdullah started the first weekly paper lithographed in Nagari character—the *Simla Ukhbar.* The 1848 report described the paper as very well got up but referred to the script as "clumsy" and explained that it was used to induce the Rajas and other residents of the hills to patronise it, Hindi being the language in general use. It was described as a carefully edited paper with interesting articles. Hindus subscribed to as many as 22 copies, Europeans 8, while 20 were distributed free of charge. The monthly income was Rs. 30 and expenditure Rs. 40.

In the following year (1849), three papers closed down. The *Syud-ul-Ukhbar* of Delhi, the *Toohfat-ul-Hadayuq* and the *Simla Ukhbar.* There was a general complaint of declining circulation. The Agra College paper the *Ukhbar-ool-Haqayaq* complained of the little support given to it by the people despite the useful knowledge purveyed by it. A complaint from one editor was against the high postal rates. The Delhi College newspaper and journals fared badly. One of the latter closed down and the newspaper threatened to go the same way.

Some new papers were started:—

	Contents	Circulation
Agra—		
Qootoob-ool-Ukhbar . . .	Current News . . .	42
Ukhbar-oon-Nuwah	Hindoo appeal . .	43
Meerut—		
Miftah-ool-Ukhbar	Current news . . .	68
Banaras—		
Bagh-o-Bahar	Current news . . .	40
Benarsee Chundroday . . .	Current news . . .	45
Indore—		
Malwa Ukhbar	Current news . . .	108

The report for 1850 contains certain general observations. The *Banaras Ukhbar* received special mention for the scurrilous language employed by the editor and satisfaction was expressed that the circulation of the paper declined to 26. It was acknowledged, however, that all other papers observed the proprieties of language but it was remarked that "as tests of the state of opinion amongst the native community, as a means in any way of enabling Government to look upon its own measures from a native point of view, or as a medium of communication of their wants and wishes by the body of the people to their rulers, they appear utterly valueless."

Two newspapers ceased publication—the Delhi *Muzhur-ul-Huq* and *Fawayud-oos-Shayuqeen.* No mention is made of the *Banarsee Chundroday* but the presumption is that it continued publication as it catered specially to the Bengali community in Banaras and was published in their language. Newspapers that came into existence in 1850 were:

	Remarks	Circulation
Lahore.—		
Koh-i-noor	Govt. Patronage	227
Durya-i-noor	Sunday paper (The largest)	over 100
Banaras.—		
Sayureen-i-Hind	Caters to Hindus	75
Simla.—		
Simla Ukhbar	Bi-monthly revived	66

In the official report for the next three years, special mention was made of the allied publications from Banaras, *Aftab-i-Hind* (Urdu) and *Kashee-Barta-Prakashika* (Bengalee), published by Kasheenath as well—conducted periodicals containing ably written articles. Likewise, Sadsookh Lall's twin papers published from Agra, *Noor-ool-Absar* (Urdu) and *Boodi Prakash* (Hindi) were acknowledged to be well conducted and a tribute was paid to the editor for his knowledge of English, the simple Urdu of the first paper and the pure Hindi of *Boodi Prakash.* The circulation breakdown for the two papers is as follows:—

	*Copies purchased by Government	Copies exchanged	Paid circulation
Noor-ool-Absar	200	7	37
Boodi Prakash	200	2	15

The report explains the small circulation as follows—

"The papers in the first place are published at Agra where they have no less than eight rivals to contend with. Secondly, though current news is given to interest the general reader, the papers are intended more especially as vehicles for the introduction into schools of a supply of useful information

NOTE.—*Purchased for distribution among Tehseelee and indigenous school in 8 districts on an experimental basis.

Thirdly, the bona fide subscription to the Oordoo paper at least fully comes up to and even exceeds the average of that of other journals in the Provinces the only exceptions being two or three papers conducted from large cities without any rivals. Lastly the heaviness of the postage duties necessarily confines the circulation of every periodical to such readers as could be found in the immediate vicinity of publication—this is more in the case of Hindi papers".

Mention was also made of the *Koh-i-noor* as a paper well produced and conducted on principles advocated by the Government, (Editor: Munshee Hursookh Rai).

The *Malwa Ukhbar* of Indore was favourably noticed for the intelligence it published on the neighbouring States gathered at first hand by the editor, Dhurm Narain. It was published under the patronage of the Maharaja Holkar and Sir R. N. C. Hamilton. The *Soodhakur Ukhbar* of Banaras was described in 1853 as ranking very high among Indian journals of the province (though no special reference was made of this paper in earlier reports) and was commended as well worthy of encouragement and support. Articles commended were: (1) on mutual aid, (2) "popular errors", (3) influence of the moon on animal and vegetable creation, and (4) a translation of Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream".

Two Delhi newspapers were noticed for their scurrility:—

Noor-i-Mughribee: (Believed to be connected in some way with the *Indian Standard* or *Delhi Advertiser*) was described as liberal in its abuse of Covenanted servants.

Delhi Oordoo Ukhbar: was described as a scurrilous print which abounded in personalities and covert attacks on native gentlemen of respectability who differed from the editor in his religious views.

Among the dead and dying newspapers were mentioned the *Fuwayud-oon-Nazreen* published under the auspices of Delhi College professors which ceased publication in 1853 and the *Qiran-oos-Sadyn*, an allied paper whose circulation was reduced to 14. The list for 1953-54 showed the *Zoobdut-ool-Ukhbar* published in Persian from Agra from 1833 and edited by Wajid Ali Khan for 20 years continuously, as having been abolished".

Chushmah-i-Faiz of Sialkot was mentioned for the first time as having been saved from ruin by the pecuniary assistance given it by the local Assistant Commissioner. Among the other papers which began publication during this period may be mentioned the *Huma-bay-Bahar* of Munshi Diwan Chand from Lahore.

A scrutiny of newspaper lists compiled and published in 1850, 1853-54 and 1858 reveals some interesting facts. There were 28 newspapers in 1850 of which 15 are extant in 1853. The 1853 list has 35 papers including the 15 carried over from the 1850 list. The 1858 list shows 12 publishing newspapers of which only 6 are survivors of the list of 35 of 1853-54. Only one newspaper of the 12 is edited by a Muslim.

Comments on the character and content of newspapers make interesting reading. Throughout there is anxiety on the part of the authorities to encourage and foster the publication of books and periodicals which will

bring enlightenment to the mass of the people. Lack of interest in political matters and the exclusion of public grievances from the Press is repeatedly deplored. In the 1851 report an instance is cited to illustrate the limited character of the Press in its function of representing public opinion. In the summer of 1850, legislation was enacted for levying tolls on the high roads which the public is said to have resented particularly as it was thought that the maximum rate provided in the Act would be imposed on all roads. There was no reference to this public resentment in the Press. The reporting official suggests a remedy:

"May I venture to suggest (the idea may be utopian) that perhaps if a native newspaper were established under superintendence and from our side the way was led to proper allowable discussion on matters affecting native interest, some response might be elicited from theirs. And if indeed the subject community could offer no suggestions which might be deemed worthy of notice, yet at least something would be gained if merely their prejudices could be learnt whilst we, thus in possession of their misapprehensions, might on our part offer some explanation".

Again in 1852, the report complains that newspapers are no indication of the trend of public opinion. The writer comments on the overcaution of editors in discussing political subjects and regrets "that this barrier to all communications of wants and wishes should exist in the native character and that a legitimate outlet for the expression of public opinion should be thus guardedly closed." Paradoxically enough however, there is a complaint in the same report of "misuse of the editorial chair" by two editors. In one instance the editor preferred a complaint against the local administration for summoning him for giving evidence as a witness in a case. In the second instance, the editor was said to have published certain libellous articles against a Tehsildar for which he was imprisoned for two months. It is no surprise, in the circumstance, that editors were cautious about engaging in political controversies and erred on the safe side of keeping them out of the columns of their newspapers altogether. It must be remembered that the public demand for newspapers was limited and even such demand as there was could not be fully exploited without postal concessions and that newspapers had to depend on direct or indirect aid from Government in order to keep alive.

There were other factors peculiar to the Press in the North West Provinces. There were the two communities. Persian (till 1836 the court language) and Urdu were the current languages. The Hindus were anxious to have the Devanagari script accepted and a judicious agitation was carried on for its adoption as an alternative script. Raja Shiva Prasad, who was in the Educational Department, directed his efforts towards evolving a common language for Hindus and Muslims which could be written in either script (Persian or Nagari). The *Banaras Ukhbar* which was published under the patronage of Raja Shiva Prasad was lithographed in the Nagari script. Official reports of the time ascribe the failure of the *Simla Ukhbar* to its being published in the "clumsy" Nagari script. The social atmosphere seems to have been such that the mildest controversy on subjects such as the comparative superiority of Delhi and Lucknow Urdu and criticism of the practice among Hindus of not permitting widows to remarry were likely to be misunderstood. The concept of the freedom of the press so ably propounded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in Bengal in 1823, just did not exist in 1853 in the North West Provinces.

Marathi.

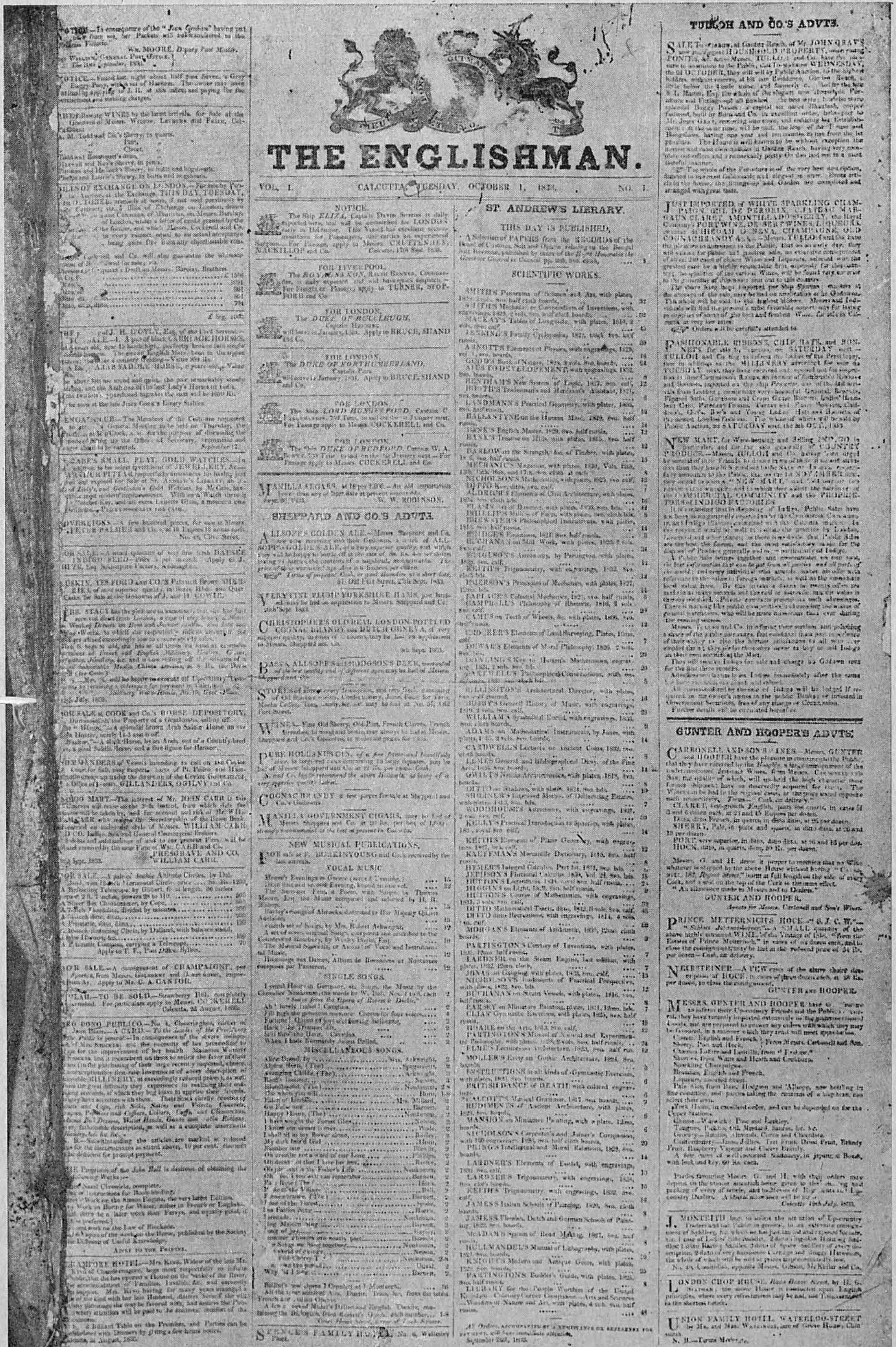
In Marathi literature, the first printed books published are recorded in a catalogue prepared by Mahadev Govind Ranade at the request of Sir Alexander Grant, the Director of Public instruction, in 1864. In a note prepared on this subject he writes:—

"This catalogue shows that during the first ten years of British rule from 1818 to 1827, only three Marathi works were published, and they were all works on Mathematics translated by Col. Jervis for the use of the students of the school of which he was placed in charge.

"Ten works appear from this catalogue to have been published during the next ten years between 1827 and 1837, two of them being medical works by Dr. McLennan on Materia Medica and Nosology, six were school books on Geometry and Geography by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, one Grammar by Dadeba Pandurang, two reading books by Major Candy, and one on Natural Science by Hari Keshavaji. The most notable works of this period were the Marathi Dictionary prepared under English superintendence by Jagannath Shastri and others in the employment of Government, and, later on, Molesworth's Marathi-into-English Dictionary."

"The catalogue shows that thirty works were published during the third period from 1837 to 1847. Of these, a History of India by Bal Shastri Jambhekar, a book on Astronomy, and another on Chemistry by Hari Keshavaji, a book on Mensuration by Colonel Jervis, and several small books of moral lessons were, as in the preceding decade, composed for use in schools. A translation of Aesop's Fables and Bala Mitra (Children's Friend), by Sadashiva Kashinath Chhatre, were also published during this decade."

Bal Shastri Jambhekar was also the editor of the first Anglo-Marathi paper, the *Bombay Durpun,* started in 1832 first as a fortnightly and a few months later as a weekly. The object of the paper was briefly "to convey information on passing events and to point out the means and opportunities for improvement....Personality shall not disfigure, nor servility stain the pages of the *Durpun* which the conductors, actuated by honest intentions, will steadily, temperately and firmly endeavour to render deserving of the goodwill and support of every lover of truth and virtue". Bal Shastri who served many years in the Education Department of the Government of Bombay as Professor in the Elphinstone College and as Educational Superintendent was held in high esteem by leading officials and he received from them the fullest support in his venture. In the issue of June 15, 1832, he defended the paper against the criticism of the *Enquirer* of Calcutta that the *Bombay Durpun* refrained from taking part in religious discussions. In adhering to the policy which he considered to be the most useful and instructive in the existing state of society, Jambhekar expressed himself with great circumspection on the subject of the re-marriage of Hindu widows. The *Bombay Durpun* carried on its mission of educating and enlightening the public for a period of 8 years at the end of which it was converted into the *United Service Gazette and Literary Chronicle.* In announcing the change the proprietors thanked their many supporters and referred with pride to the fact that the *Durpun* had not lost a single friend during its career. Jambhekar, however, brought out a monthly Marathi magazine, the *Dig Durshun* (May 1840), which contained a summary of intelligence, short essays and articles on history, geography, science and philosophy with illustrations in lithograph. It is not known how long this journal continued in publication but it would appear that it declined after a period of four years (two years after Jambhekar's death) for want of public support. The American Mission Journal the *Dnyanodaya,* published from Ahmednagar (1842), paid a tribute in 1846 to Jambhekar for having conducted both journals in a liberal spirit and "in a good degree free from the influence of prevailing superstitions." It deplored the fact that public appreciation and support was lacking.



THE ENGLISHMAN.

VOL. I. CALCUTTA, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1833. NO. 1.

NOTICE.

The Ship *ELIZA*, Captain David Service is daily expected here, and will be dispatched for LONDON early in December. This Vessel has excellent accommodation for Passengers, and carries an experienced Surgeon.—For Passage, apply to Messrs. CRUTTENDEN, MACKILLOP and Co.

FOR LIVERPOOL.

FOR LONDON.

The *DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH*,

FOR LONDON.

The *DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND*,

FOR LONDON.

The Ship *LORD HUNGERFORD*,

FOR LONDON.

The Ship *DUKE OF BEDFORD*,

ST. ANDREW'S LIBRARY.

THIS DAY IS PUBLISHED,

SCIENTIFIC WORKS.

SHEPPARD AND CO.'S ADVTS.

NEW MUSICAL PUBLICATIONS.

VOCAL MUSIC.

SINGLE SONGS.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS.

TULLOH AND CO.'S ADVTS.

GUNTER AND HOOPER'S ADVTS.

The Englishman: Calcutta, October 1, 1833

The Bombay Times,

and

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE.

(Published on the mornings of Saturday and Wednesday.) — Annual Subscription Rs. [illegible]; paid in advance Rs. 36.

VOL. I. — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1838. — NO. 1.

NOTICE.

Rates for publishing Advertisements in the Bombay Times Office.

	Rs.	A.	P.
[illegible] a single line	0	6	0
Repetitions	0	3	0
[illegible] Lines and under	2	0	0
A single line in Guzerattee, Mahratta, or Persian	0	6	0
[illegible] Lines and under	3	0	0

FOR LONDON.—The Barque "GEORGE CANNING" of 400 tons, [Th]omas Winn, Commander; will have immediate [dis]patch.
For Freight or Passage, apply to
FOSTER AND Co.
[Bo]mbay, 31st October 1838.

TO CHINA.—For Freight of Opium only. The fast sailing Clipper "ARDASEER," A. McIntyre, Commander, will leave for the above place early in this month, the principal part of her Cargo being expected to arrive [fro]m Malwa immediately.—For particulars, apply [to] Messrs. Cursetjee, Cawasjee and Co.—Bombay, 3rd November 1838.

FOR PASSAGE to LIVERPOOL.
The fine fast sailing Ship LINTIN, 553 Tons Register, J. GILLMAN, Commander, to sail on the 15th instant, and carries a Surgeon.
For Passage, apply to the Commander on board, or Messrs. Higginson and Cardwell.
Meadow Street, 3d Nov. 1838.

FOR LIVERPOOL.—The PRINCESS CHARLOTTE, 515 Tons Register, R. [illegible], Commander, will be despatched about [1]5th Instant.—Has good accommodation for a [few] Passengers.
For Freight or passage, apply at Messrs. Dirom, [Car]ter and Co's office, or to Capt. S. on board.
[Bo]mbay, 3d Nov. 1838.

FOR LONDON.—The "MALABAR," of 700 Tons, ROBERT POLLOCK, [Com]mander, will sail about 1st January.
[Th]is Ship has spacious accommodations, fitted [in] every way for the convenience and comfort [of pa]ssengers, and carries a Surgeon.
[Fo]r freight or passage, apply to Skinner & Co.

[M]essrs. ROBERT FRITH and Co. have received a Valuable Collection of New [Book]s which they are selling at reduced prices, [consist]ing of:—
British Ornithology with beautiful plates, London, [18]34 £.
[illegible] Annals, Qto. with plates.
[illegible] Annals, of Teviotdale, ditto.
[illegible] Anatomical plates.
[illegible]'s Library, 40 vols. plates.
[illegible]'s Illustrations of Ornithology, Do.

[FO]R SALE.—A neat light fashionable Britzka built by Ingram, Queen's Street, Lincoln's [Inn, L]ondon, with Harness complete.
[A w]ell fitted up Shigram.
[App]ly to Messrs. ROBERT FRITH AND Co.

PEAT'S SADLERY.

[Me]ssrs. ROBERT FRITH AND Co. have received for Sale on Commission, an In[voice] of the above of the finest description, con[sisting] of,
[Do]eskin Cutback Riding Saddles, with girths, Stirrup [Leathe]rs and Irons, complete:—Best double Rein [an]d Bradoon Bridles with covered Buckles and [ban]d nose bands, complete—Best exercise Saddles weighing 5, 6, 7, 8, & 9 lbs. each complete—[D]ouble Bridles to match ditto—Racing Saddles [of] 4½ lbs. Riding Bridles with spare Reins [and] Martingales—A beautifully finished set of [Pha]eton and Carriage Harness—a few superior Whips.

[FO]R SALE.—Two superior toned PIANOS of [Zebra]wood and Rose wood, with metal sounding [board], made expressly for this climate by Mon[ro], Anderson and Co., of Edinburgh.
[Appl]y to Messrs. Robert Frith and Co.

[M]ANTON'S GUNS AND PISTOLS.
[FO]R SALE at Messrs. ROBERT FRITH [an]d Co's., A double barrelled flint Gun, [a dou]ble barrelled over and under flint Pistol, [with] trigger, a double barrelled flint Pistol, [a pair] of highly finished over and under double [barrell]ed detonating Pistols, a superior double [barrell]ed detonating Pistol;—the above are all [in] cases complete. Eley's Patent Cartridges, Gauge 15 and 17.

MESSRS. ROBERT FRITH and Co., have received for Sale on Commission from the celebrated makers Weiss and Son, the following articles.—Field Turniquets, Patent and plain horse Phlemes, Cases of Pocket (Surgeons' and Veterinary) instruments, single and double [illegible], Lancets, a variety of Enema Syringes, &c. &c. &c., which are priced moderate.

MR. CALLAN'S Military Cloaks and Surtouts, as likewise Dress, Frock and Riding Coats, are for Sale at
ROBERT FRITH AND Co.

THE following valuable works and Philosophical Instruments are for sale at the Rooms of Messrs. Robert Frith and Co., viz:—
[illegible]'s Treatise on Isometrical Drawing.
Mechanic's Magazine, vol. 27.
Nicholson's Operative Mechanic with 115 Plates.
Farey's Ellipsograph.
1 Set Electrum Marquoise Scales.
4 Ivory Chain Scales.
An 18-inch Brass-bound Parallel Ruler.
A first size Phantasmagoria Lanthorn, with shifting slides.

SALE BY AUCTION.—On Friday, the 9th instant, at 11 o'clock, A. M. Messrs. Robert Frith & Co. will submit to Public Outcry, at his late Residence on the Baboola Tank,—The neat modern Household Furniture, Plate, Plated, Glass and Queen's Wares.
The property of an officer deceased, consisting of Jackwood and Blackwood Circular Tables, Dining Sofa and Dressing ditto, Chairs, Couches, Teapoys, a dressing Cheval Glass, Silver Spoons and Forks, a large and handsome breakfast set, buff, white and gold; a Dinner Set, Oriental Patterns, a variety of Glass Ware; a fine turned square Piano, made by Mortimer, Anderson & Co. for the climate; a correct going eight-day clock, by Morice—a Superior double barrelled Gun; an easy Chair with spring cushions; Vase and Argand hanging Lamps, Wines, Cooking Utensils, and a variety of other Articles, required in house keeping.—& at 1 P. M. if not previously disposed of, a Bengal built Buggy with Harness.
A Grey Arab Horse...14 [illegible] 6 years old.
A Bay Buggy Horse...14 [illegible] aged
A Few choice Plants.

AN EXTENSIVE SALE OF GOOD DAMAGED BENGAL SILK.

WILL take place at the Rooms of the undersigned, on account of those concerned, on Wednesday the 7th instant, as likewise an Invoice of broad cloths of different colors.
ROBERT FRITH AND Co.

MESSRS. ROBERT FRITH AND Co. will sell by Public Auction, on Wednesday the 7th November, at their Rooms, the following Articles, viz:a blackwood Wardrobe, Couches, Tables, Chairs, two six-light Chandeliers, Gown Pieces, Canvas, Lamps, Cutlery, Swords, Liqueur Cases, Books, 6 handsome Scarlet Cloth Curtains with black and scarlet Pendants, and gilt bars, Cotton coloured Handkerchiefs, Bottle Stands, Neilgherry Potatoes, and a variety of other Articles,—particulars of which will appear in future Advertisements.

SALE BY AUCTION, on Tuesday next the 6th Instant, Messrs. Blackwell, Cursetjee & Co. will sell by Public Auction, at their Rooms, at 11 A. M. the remains of an extensive Invoice of Glass-ware, the same consists of Vase Lamps Handsome double and single branched Wall-shades with engraved borders and Plated Brackets Pedestal Candlesticks with engraved Shades and cut drops, Glass Pedestal do. do. do. richly cut Water Jugs, Plated Chamber Candlesticks with Shades, Wine and Water Glasses, Tumblers, Claret, Wine and Liquor Glasses, Stoppered Bottles &c. &c. an Invoice of Gentleman's Hats, a few Boxes of Manilla Cigars, a quantity of Bengal do. Pieces of Flannel, Pieces of Long Cloth and Madapollam (a portion of them slightly damaged) a very large quantity of damaged Rush and Biscuit (adapted for feeding stock) Household Furniture, Sundries, &c.

AT NOON,
Will be sold 2 Butts of Sherry, and about 50 Casks of St. Julien Claret, recently imported—a small quantity of Cyder, several dozens of Beer, a few dozens of Europe bottled Soda Water, and,

AT 1 P. M.
A Buggy with Harness, and any other Carriages or Cattle that may offer.
No. 10, Forbes' Street.
3d November 1838.

FOR SALE, on Commission, A Patent Refrigerating Still, with Air Pump, Price Rupees 150.
Blackwell, Cursetjee & Co.
3d Nov. 1838.

SALE BY AUCTION.—On Saturday next the 10th Inst. Messrs. Blackwell, Cursetjee and Co. will sell by Public Auction, at 11 A. M. at his residence on Colaba, near the Gun Carriage Manufactory, the Household Property and Furniture of the Reverend S. P. Williams, quitting the Presidency; the same consists of Couches covered with damask, Chairs, breakfast and dining Sofas, washing and dressing Tables, an excellent French Clock by Raingo Freres, Paris; a nearly new and handsome dinner service, a breakfast service of Painted China, a Billiard Table complete, Bed-room and Dressing Room Furniture, Books, Cooking Utensils, Sundries, &c.

AT 1 P. M.
A Britchska, Collinges Patent Axles, nearly new, a pair of Horses and nearly new Harness. A Shigram with Patent Axles, Horse and Harness &c. &c.
Further particulars will appear in future advertisements. The property will be open to inspection from Thursday the 8th Instant. No Catalogues will be published.
Bombay, 3d Nov. 1838.

SALE BY AUCTION, on Tuesday, the 13th Instant, Messrs. Blackwell, Cursetjee and Co. will sell by Public Auction, at 11 A. M. at his residence, at Breach Candy, the Household property and Furniture of J. P. LARKINS, Esq., the same consists of Plate and Plated Ware, China, Glass, and Queen's Ware, 4 and 6 Light Chandeliers, Porcelain Vases, Alabaster ditto, Pictures, Wall-shades with cut pan and drops, a fine toned Piano forte by "Clementi" a very handsome Ottoman covered with orange damask, with Couches and Chairs to match; a set of twelve handsomely carved Ebony Chairs, Argand and Or-molu Lamps, English Carpeting, a very handsome Bengal Bed-stead with Bedding and Curtains, complete.—Breakfast, Dining, Card, Sofa, Washing and Dressing Tables, a Cheval Glass, Wardrobes, Camp Cots, Sundries, &c.

AT 1 P. M.
A Britchska with a pair of Horses and Harness, a Shigram, a Saddle Horse, Tonjon, and a quantity of Plants in Pots. Further particulars will appear in future Advertisements.
The property will be on view on Friday, Saturday and Monday preceding the sale.
Catalogues will be published, and may be had of the Auctioneers at their Rooms, or on the Premises.—No. 1[illegible], Forbes' Street.
Bombay, 3d Nov. 1838.

FOR SALE.—A first rate LATHE made by Holtzapffel and Co. viz. A five inch centre Lathe, No. 1314 with Iron heads, Iron bearer, front centre steel cylinder and screw, at the back connected with it to move the same backward and forward; two centres, the screw mandrel is bored through, six steel guides with suitable apparatus, 3 lanks double level force wheel; 24 metal and a set of wood spines, and common checks of Boxwood.
The Lathe is fixed upon a beautiful seasoned Mahogany frame, and the checks go into a Mahogany Box. The Bar of the Lathe is solid Iron.
Specimens of the work effected by the above are for inspection.
With the above is a very large quantity of Turning Tools of every description, a list of which may be seen, price Rs. 1250
4 Large Pieces of Ivory... 160
Also a Beech wood Planing Bench with Lapidary's Wheel attached and hold fast... 60
A Machine for grinding, with a number of Wheels for Lapidary's work... 80
Together or separate with the above, will be sold a first size Tool Chest with numerous Tools adapted to many trades in excellent order... 850
One Dice Stock to make screws of all sizes.
Application to be made to Blackwell, Cursetjee and Co. who have lists of the above for inspection.—No. 10, Forbes' Street, Bombay, 3d November 1838.

BLACKWELL, CURSETJEE and Co. have received for Sale "on Commission," a large and complete set of FISHING TACKLE by "EVETT" the same comprises every description of Line, a Machine for making Lines, Fly Rod with Wheel, &c. and can be packed in a small compass. Price Rupees 80.
Bombay, 3d Nov. 1838.

FOR SALE OR RENT.—A House with detached Bungalows, desirably situated to the right of the Staff Lines, facing the Race Course, and near the seventy mile stone, at Poona. The House is to be sold with or without the furniture it now contains.
Price with the furniture............Rs. 1800.
Ditto without...ditto.............. " 1400.
Application to be made to Blackwell, Cursetjee and Co. of whom a Plan of the Premises may be seen.—Bombay, 3d November 1838.
No. 10, Forbes Street.

BLACKWELL, CURSETJEE AND Co., have just received for sale, a few Achromatic day or night Telescopes by "Dollond" with spare Shades and counter screws.—Bombay, 2d November 1838.

FOR SALE.—A Buggy, Horse and Harness; Price, Rupees 350,—may be seen on one hour's notice being given to
Blackwell, Cursetjee and Co.
No. 10, Forbes' Street.

MESSRS. PREVOST, RUSTOMJEE AND Co. have for sale, London Porter, Cyder, Bass' and Allsop's Beer in bottles and wood, Pale and Brown Sherry in three dozen cases, Ale, English and Holland's Gin, English and French Brandy in cases, Scotch Whiskey in jars, Raspberry White Wine, and Distilled Vinegar, Hoffman's Ratafia, Cherry Juice, and Cherry Brandy, Fruits for tart in jars (by Cooper), Jams and Jellies, Fancy Biscuits in ten pound Cannisters, Hams, Pine Cheese, Pickles, Sauces, Walnut Ketchup, Tarragon Vinegar, London Sauce, John Bull Anchovies, Salad Oil, Soupeo and Bouille, Herring Paste, Soft Speldings, Fresh Salmon, Fresh Cod Fish, Ditto Haddocks, Yarmouth Herrings, Fresh Oysters, Ditto Lobsters, Tripe in jars, Vegetables, Boiled Carrots, preserved Parsnips in cannisters, Green Pease and Gravy Soups, Ox-tail, Mock turtle, Partridge, and Hare, Roasted Hare, preserved Milk, Mutton Broth, Minced Collops, concentrated Gravy, Beet Root, Sage and Onion Sauce, Curry Paste, Tart Fruit in jars.—Meadow Street, 20th October 1838.

THE Undersigned have received from Bordeaux, per French Ship Philantrope Superior Wines—Burgundy Mousseu, Ditto Chambertin (from Heyrin Proprietor), Superior Cognac Brandy, Champaign in pints and quarts, Clarets, Carbonells, of (2d) growth in pints, St. Julien, Lafitte, St. Estephe, Hermitage, Liquors, Creme de Noyau, Do. de Vanille, Elixer de Garus, Huile de Rose, Parfaite Amour, Creme de Moka, Do. de Mente, Maraschino de Zara, fresh bottled Brandy Fruit, Cherries, Peaches, Pears, Prunes, Apricots, Damsons, Gooseberries, superior Sallad Oil in bottles, Corks, &c.
PREVOST, RUSTOMJEE AND Co.
Meadow Street, 3rd Nov. 1838.

FOR SALE at Messrs. MacVICAR, BURN AND Co.'s Godowns,
Champagne, from Messrs. Gondor and Co. @ 25 Rs. doz.
Hock .... 35 do. do.
Moselle .... 25 do. do.

FOR SALE at Messrs. MacVICAR, BURN AND Co.'s Godowns,
5 Hhds. of Superior SHERRY, from Messrs. J. Cockburn and Campbell, Edinburgh, at 500 Rs. @ Hhd.

FOR SALE at Messrs. MacVICAR, BURN AND Co.'s Godowns,
Gunpowder, from Messrs. J. Hall and Sons.

ON SALE.—A neat light PHÆTON, well adapted for this country, and a fashionably built DENNETT from J. H. Fife, Long Acre, London.
Apply to Merwanjee Jeejebhoy, at the office of
Gisborne, Menzies & Co.
Rampart Row, 2d Nov., 1838.

ON SALE at the Godowns of Messrs. Higginson and Cardwell, the undermentioned superior Wines, just landed "ex-Lintin"

Pale Sherry in Hhds.	@ Rs.	300	℔ Hhd.
ditto in 3 dozen cases	do.	18	doz.
Brown Sherry in Hhds. & Qr. Casks	do.	250	Hhd.
ditto in 3 dozen cases	do.	15	doz.
Claret 3 do.	do.	25	do.
Hermitage, White and Red	do.	20	do.
Superior Old Port	@ Rs.	18 and 16	do.
ditto do. Madeira	@ Rs.	18	do.
Champagne	do.	30	do.

ALSO,
A few Hhds. of fine West India Rum, at 3 Rupees ℔ Gallon.

ON SALE at the Godowns of Messrs. Higginson and Cardwell, a few well finished double Barrelled Guns, Rifles, and Pistols, in cases, with implements, complete.

ON SALE at the Godowns of Messrs. Higginson and Cardwell, two neat and well finished Phætons and a Stanhope Buggy, just landed "ex-Lintin."
2, Meadow Street, 3d November 1838.

FOR SALE BY THE UNDERSIGNED.
CHAIN CABLES [illegible] —75, 90 & 95 Fathoms with Shackles, &c. complete. 3 Anchors with Iron Stock, &c. weighing 7 cwt. each.
Ritchie, Stewart & Co.

The Bombay Times: Bombay, November 3, 1838

P.P. Bombay
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THE

Bombay Guardian.

PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY MORNING.

Vol. I.] FRIDAY, 7th MARCH, 1851. [No. 1.

NOTICE.—*The* Editors *of the* Bombay Guardian *beg to request that all letters on business, such as orders for papers and advertisements, intimations of change of residence, and remittances of money, be addressed to the Publisher,* Mr. A. Dunlop, 21 *Rampart Row, and those having reference to the News and Literary department of the paper, to the* Editors *officially, and not by name, at their office* 21 *Rampart Row.*

RELIGIOUS MEETINGS DURING THE WEEK.

On Wednesday *evening at* Trinity Chapel, *at ½ past* 6 *o'clock.*
On Thursday *evening, at the* American Mission Chapel, *at* 7 *o'clock.*
On Thursday *evening at* St. Andrew's Kirk, *at ½ past* 6 *o'clock.*
On the First Monday *of every month the* United Monthly Concert of Prayer for Missions *is held in the* Free Church *at* 7 *o'clock in the evening: the* Church Missionary Society's *Missionary Prayer-meeting at the* Boy's School-room *attached to the* Trinity Chapel *at* 7 *o'clock p. m.: and the* Free Church of Scotland's *Missionary Prayer meeting at Ambrolie at* 7 *o'clock a. m.*
On the Third Monday *of every month the Monthly Meeting of the Western India Branch of the Evangelical Alliance at* 7 *o'clock p. m.*

Our Subscribers will, of course, allow us time to procure the journals published at the other presidencies, before they will expect us to exhibit to them the "Spirit of the Indian Press." We shall provide ourselves with the best journals without delay, and after a short time, there will be no deficiency in that important department of our journal.

Prospectus.

To the Christian Community of this Presidency, an organ for the diffusion of general Christian intelligence, and the exertion of a Catholic Christian influence, is a great desideratum. The plan now adopted for supplying this want, is one which, it is thought, will at once commend itself to the religious public for its Catholicity, and which will also secure such efficiency in the conduct of the journal as to render it worthy of general patronage.

An idea of the character of our journal may be given in a few words.—It will assert the dominion of the Holy Scriptures, as the only genuine moral constitution of society, the only standard of public and private conduct, the only true model of character—the model of the Parent, the Instructor, the Philanthropist, the Scholar, the Christian. Its principles will be those of Evangelic Protestantism,—those in which the Churches of the Reformation so remarkably harmonize, and which are set forth in the articles of the Church of England and the Westminster Confession of Faith.

It will enter generally into the discussion of public affairs,—the great movements and events of the day, whether religious or civil; it will enter particularly into an examination of all such as have a direct bearing on the progress of the Redeemer's Kingdom; and it will seek to conduct all its discussions and examinations in a spirit of comprehensiveness and candor, without latitudinarianism on the one hand, or bigotry on the other.

Special attention will of course be paid to whatever is connected with the well-being, political, social, or religious, of the country in which our lot is cast.

It will contain a carefully compiled summary of the news of the week throughout British India, General Orders, commercial and shipping intelligence, local and domestic occurrences, &c.—and, on the arrival of each successive Mail from Europe, a summary of the news, with a full detail of the more interesting intelligence.

The periodicals and journals of our day enlist and absorb much of the literary talent, the creative genius, and scholarly accomplishment of this learned and prolific age. They abound with the most brilliant, and yet not the most beneficial contributions to modern literature. That the worth and beneficial influence of such contributions are not equal to their variety and splendor, is because they are too freely and deeply imbued with the savor and spirit of ancient lore and modern worldliness. The difficulty of finding an individual who should unite in himself the professional qualifications and direct aims demanded by a journalist of our day, and, more especially, by an Indian journalist, has led to the following arrangement for the editorial management of this journal. An Editorial Committee has been formed, consisting of persons representing the Established Churches of England and Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, the American Churches, and the English Dissenters,—a Committee selected not only with the view of supplying the requisite varied ability, but also of ensuring catholicity, and giving confidence to the Christian public.

To place the journal on a permanent foundation, and give security to the public for its continuance, the property will be divided into shares of Rs. 100 each. No pecuniary liability, beyond the price of their respective shares, will be incurred by shareholders. The proprietors will be expected to make every exertion for the efficiency and circulation of the journal.

Any one wishing to assist in the establishment of this journal, but unwilling to become a proprietor, may afford, at the present moment, most necessary aid by a contribution; and every contributor will be entitled to receive the paper gratis, until the amount of his contribution is repayed.

Religious Aspect of India.—It will doubtless have been inferred, from the prospectus and general character of our paper, that the great subject of Missionary enterprise in India will obtain a prominent place in our columns. While we shall be anxious to contemplate every great public movement in its moral and religious bearings, we shall especially deem it a sacred duty to advert often and earnestly to the progress of Christian truth around us. The whole extent of India as a field of Missionary labour will come under review; but we shall devote our more particular attention to Western India—or to define the limit still more accurately, — to the Bombay presidency.

Have we any ground for thinking that the Missionary enterprise in India presents at present something like the commencement of a new era—a turning-point—a fresh start in its high career? This is an *Annus Mirabilis*, as men delight to style it; and as we sweep into the second half of the nineteenth century, hope expands every bosom, brightens every eye, and animates every tongue. Some of these hopes are doomed to disappointment; yet, for our part, we look hopefully to the future, and that not so much because man bustles and boasts, as because we think we can trace the presence of God and the high "operation of His hands" shaping the minds of men and the destinies of nations so as to work out ends which many of the earthly instruments but little dream of. Europe and America, then, are in a ferment of action, and a ferment of expectation. *Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.* And even India—after her long and dreary sleep of ages—seems beginning to awake. We confess we are amongst the most sanguine of those who look for vast economic alterations and great material improvements in India. Many of the causes that have hitherto repressed her energies are patent to every one who cares to see them, and we believe that the

The Bombay Guardian: Bombay, March 7, 1851

THE FRIEND OF INDIA.

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY MORNING.

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GENERAL POST OFFICE NOTIFICATION.

OVERLAND MAIL.

THE Overland Mail viâ Marseilles and Southampton, and the intermediate Ports, Madras, Ceylon and Aden, per P. and O. Co.'s Steamer *Ava*, will be closed at this Office, on Monday, the 8th February, at 6 P. M.

Letters, &c., for Penang, Singapore, Hong-Kong and Australia will be forwarded viâ Galle by this opportunity.

T. GARRETT,
Offg. Deputy Post Master General.

Genl. Post Office, 28th Jan., 1858.

☞ *Subscribers are particularly requested to make their Hoondees payable to the Editor of the "Friend of India," by whom also all receipts will be signed.*

All Subscribers proceeding to England must pay in advance with postage, or refer us for payment to an Agent in India. Marseilles postage is Rs. 7-4 a year.

OURSELVES.

THE *OVERLAND FRIEND* will be ready at the Office of Mr. A. B. GOODALL, Old Post Office-Street, Calcutta, by noon on Mail days. All copies will be sent direct to the addressee, unless specially ordered by the subscriber.

OVERLAND MAIL NEWS
FROM BOMBAY.

English Mail Steamer signalled at Bombay at 8-40 A. M. 29th January.

FIRST BULLETIN.

The *Madras* arrived this morning with the London Mails of 2nd January.

Lord Harrowby having resigned the Privy Seat on account of bad health, has been succeeded by Lord Clanricarde. Great preparations were in progress for the marriage of the Princess Royal on 25th January. The ceremony was to take place in the Chapel Royal at St. James's, in presence of the Royal family, the King and Princes of Belgium, the Prince and Princess of Prussia and other Members of the Royal family, the Grand Duke and Duchess of Baden, and the Duke and Duchess of Saxe Coburgh. The newly married couple were to leave England for the continent on the 2nd February.

The pension for distinguished services vacated by the appointment of Sir Henry Havelock to the colonelcy of the 3rd Buffs, has been conferred on Brigadier Inglis. The Court of Directors have admitted Lady Neill to the benefit of the Compassionate Fund. The Revenue returns for the past year have been published, and shewed a decrease of two millions sterling, of which half is traced to the last quarter.

The 71st Regiment at Malta, and the 92nd at Gibraltar, are under orders for India, will be despatched Overland to Bombay about the 4th of next month. Detachments of the 18th, 51st, 72nd, 83rd, 86th, and 95th have left in the *Assaye*, for Bombay and Kurrachee. A thousand men from the Depots of Regiments in India were to be despatched early in January.

Walker has again landed on the Coast of Nicaragua with two thousand men.

SECOND BULLETIN.

The Government of Demerara passed resolutions on the 31st of December, that in the event of the East India Government being disposed to transport at its own expense, mutineers to the West Indies, such persons their wives and families would be safely and advantageously received in the Colony and duly provided for.

Mr. Moore, the Irish Judge is dead. The *Leviathan* was to be launched on the 4th of January.

By the death of the Earl Spencer Lord Althorp vacates the representation of Northamptonshire.

Military riots have taken place in Dublin, caused by jealousy between the Guards and the 80th and 65th Regiments.

By a memo. from the Commander-in-Chief it appears that in future the education for all arms of the service is to be given at Sandhurst and the period of study to be two years.

The news from Europe is of no political importance.

An earthquake at Naples is now known to have extended to all parts of the kingdom, and twenty thousand persons are said to have perished.

The United States.—We learn that the expedition sent against the Mormons of Utah, is in a position of great difficulty.

The Obituary.—Sir Alexander Dixie ; P. Carp ; Earl Spencer ; Major General James Grey ; Sir David Blair, Baronet ; Sir John Haverfield ; Mr. Edward Bulluck ; Revd. R. Denton, Chaplain Madras Army ; and J. Hodgson, Madras Civil Service.

OVERLAND SUMMARY.—On the 12th December both houses of Parliament were adjourned until Thursday the 4th of February. Our ordinary intelligence from England extends up to the 26th of December, but we have received a telegraphic message from Bombay with accounts to the 2nd of January. Between the 10th and 12th of December nothing of importance beyond the passing of the Bank indemnity bill occurred. In the Upper House Viscount Dungannon moved for copies of any correspondence between the East India Directors and the Board of Control relative to the transmission of troops to India. The motion was afterwards withdrawn, on the understanding that the papers called for were to be submitted to a Committee in the Lower House. Lord Panmure read an extract from the letter written by Sir Colin Campbell, in which the Commander-in-Chief recorded his "deep sense of the obligation he entertained towards the Governor General." The extract was read to remove a misconception prevalent in England as to the relations subsisting between the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief.

In the Lower House Mr. Wyse presented a petition from the British inhabitants of Calcutta, praying that India might be immediately governed by Her Majesty. On a motion by Sir J. Pakington copies were ordered of all correspondence relative to the despatch of troops to this country, and also, copies of Lord Dalhousie's recommendation for an increase of European troops.

Lord Palmerston informed the House that the Government proposed to extend the annuity of a thousand pounds decreed to General Havelock to two lives instead of one. The announcement was received with cheers, especially when the Premier said that such a proposal was gratifying to the feelings of Her Majesty's Government.

The Jewish disabilities bill has again been discussed, and at the instigation of Lord John Russell a bill authorising the omission of the words "on the true faith of a Christian" from the oaths of allegiance was ordered to be brought in.

Perhaps the motion of most importance in the Lower House was that moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Kinnaird for copies of all official despatches and official correspondence since 1847, prohibiting public officers from countenancing missionary enterprise, and relating to the education of the natives of this country. The papers are expected to shew how far of late years the conservatism of the Court of Directors has been opposed to the advancement of India.

The question of the suffrage has advanced a step and a memorial, in which such names as Maurice and Kingsley, Sir Culling Eardley and Arthur Helps occur, has been presented to Lord Palmerston, praying for an educational franchise. The scheme, though not yet fully developed proposes to create seventy constituencies for the ninety thousand educated men in England, each of which constituencies shall return a representative to the House of Commons. The measure is ingenious, and would decidedly check the development of the destructive element in the House of Commons, consequent upon the impending extension of the suffrage, but like all doctrinaire schemes it is in part based upon a fallacy, a theory that education implies both talent and principle. The scheme has met with some support, the thinking classes feeling somewhat bitterly that whoever else may be represented they are not.

The Marquis of Clanricarde to the surprise of every one has been admitted into the Cabinet in the place of Lord Harrowby who retires. The retirement of Lord Harrowby shews that the rumours as to the division in the Cabinet were not without foundation, and the admission of one who recently attended a meeting of the Indian Reform League, but only on the stipulation that Lord Canning's conduct should not be criticised, seems to imply that whilst the change in the administration of this country will be radical, the prayer of the second Calcutta petition will not be answered.

The *Leviathan* has not yet been launched, and the attempts to launch it have, it is said, already cost £70,000.

The Bank rate of discount has been reduced to eight per cent., but in spite of this indication that the monetary panic is well nigh ended, failures still continue to take place, and riots have broken out in the North of England. The chief houses that have stopped payment since the 10th of December are Messrs. Row, Prescott and Co. with liabilities estimated at £200,000, Albert W. Pelly and Co. with liabilities about £170,000 ; Messrs. Weinholt, Wehner and Co., liabilities estimated at £350,000 ; Messrs. Saalford Brothers and Co., liabilities £200,000, and others. On the whole from the 12th of November to the 26th of December seventy-eight houses have failed, with liabilities amounting in the aggregate to £15,346,095.

The Hon'ble Mary Jones, sister to the present Lord Ranelagh has become notorious. Some time since when that lady was residing at 74, Ebury Street, Pimlico, she became acquainted with a gentleman, apparently a Pole, who styled himself the Count De Waszkowski, son of the "celebrated Prince Wittgenstein." The Pole apparently fell in love with the Hon'ble Mary Jones, but she steadily resisted his overtures. At length however she admitted the unfortunate exile to an interview, and in process of time agreed to become his wife on the understanding that her own property should be settled upon herself. Meanwhile she lent the Pole a hundred pounds until his own remittances should arrive, this trifling sum was acknowledged,* and all went well until the time came for the settlement deeds to be drawn up. The Pole was decidedly averse to any settlement, the discussion became sharp, and the marriage was broken off, and an action commenced against the Count for the £100. The Count made but a lame defence, he pleaded that the marriage had involved him in many expenses, such as the wedding cake, &c., but admitted that he was in the habit of receiving money from ladies, that on one occasion he had received £300 to "give up the letters and go," and that his usual pr[illegible]tice wa

The Friend of India: Serampore, February 4, 1858

A year before his death Jambhekar encouraged and helped his friend and pupil, Govind Vitthal Kunte alias Bhau Mahajan, to promote a Marathi weekly, the *Prabhakur,* on October 24, 1841. A few months later the paper acquired a lithographic press of its own. The *Dig-Durshun* was also printed at this press as well as a monthly magazine the *Upadesha Chandrika* (January 1844), edited by Pandit Morabhat Dandekar, another young admirer of Jambhekar. Dandekar undertook as his mission the defence of Hinduism against the attacks of Christian missionaries. The *Prabhakur* under Bhau Mahajan achieved a reputation for independence and fearlessness and continued in publication for 25 years until 1865. It published a series of 100 letters by Sardar Gopal Rao Hari Deshmukh, the Marathi reformer, who wrote under the pen name of Lokhitavadi. It may be said, therefore, that Jambhekar not only set an example in journalism by undertaking publication of the first journal in Marathi but also trained and encouraged younger men to keep the flag flying after his death.

Little is known of the first all—Marathi paper, the *Mumbai Akhbar,* started by Suryaji Krishnaji beyond the fact that it was started on July 3, 1840 and survived for a few months. Mention has already been made of the Christian missionary journal, *Dnyanodaya* which was started in Ahmednagar in June 1842, first as a monthly, later a fortnightly and from 1873 a weekly. The paper was edited at the start by the Rev. Henry Ballentine with Shahurao Kukde as the Marathi editor. A bi-lingual paper, it was devoted to the propagation of Christianity.

In February 1849, the *Dnyan Prakash* of Poona came into existence under the editorship of Krishnaji Trimbak Ranade.

Started as a weekly, it was converted into a daily in 1904 and under the editorship of the distinguished Marathi novelist, Hari Narayan Apte, it rose to great prominence. Conducted as a sober and thoughtful daily, it played a leading role in the dissemination of news and views. It later became the daily Marathi organ of the Servants of India Society, but its subsequent history falls appropriately in a later chapter.

Three other papers were started—the *Vartaman Deepika* (weekly) edited by V. B. Gokhale and the *Vicharalahari* (fortnightly, 1852), edited by Krishna Shastri Chiploonkar, the former from Bombay and the latter from Poona, to oppose missionary activities but they were both shortlived. Bhau Mahajan, editor of the *Prabhakur,* started another weekly, *Dhoomketu,* as a protagonist of western education and conducted the paper ably for 13 year between 1853 and 1865. The *Dnyan Sindhu* of Bombay edited and published by Vireshwar Sadusuth Chhatre lived for 3 years between 1842 and 1845.

In the pre-rebellion period Marathi journalism made a small but effective beginning with official support. It concerned itself essentially with the propagation of progressive ideas of the west among the people. The endeavour during this period was to provide a solid foundation of works of lasting merit in the Marathi language.

"I hope I shall not be accused of unduly depreciating the progress that has been achieved", wrote Mahadev Govind Ranade, "But there can be no mistake, that to anyone who looks at it from a stranger's standpoint our existing literature will appear for the most part either superstitious or childish. Many centuries of earnest effort are needed before this reproach can be washed away. The present however, is full of promise and there is every likehood that before long the Marathi language will be in a position to take the first rank among the cultivated languages of modern India".

Mr. Ranade whose own contribution to this noble task was indeed a great one, set for himself a very high standard and his object was achieved. Writing on the growth of Marathi literature in 1898, he said:

"The periodicals and the newspapers deserve a passing notice in this place. As regards the periodicals, we have a large number, about 15 in all, at present, courting public support. The most notable and the best conducted are *Vivid Gnanvistar, Granthmala, Bhashantar, Bharat Varsh, Aithihasik Lekhsangrah, Keral Kokil* and *Balbodh*. *Grantmala* is edited by Professor Beejapurkar, *Bharat Varsh* edited by Messrs. Apte and Parasnis, *Aithihasik Lekhsangrah* by Vasudeo Shastri Khare and *Bhashantar* by Mr. Rajwade. These are very useful in giving encouragement to young authors, but their circulation is very limited.

As regards newspapers, at present we have a large number, about 100, three of them are daily and the rest are mostly weekly. Every zilla town, and in some districts every taluka town, has one or more newspapers. Compared with the state of things as it obtained thirty years ago, no department of literary activity has made more sensible progress than the newspapers of this country. We are here concerned only with the literary character of the native Press, and it may safely be said that the progress made is very encouraging. The best newspapers, some 16 in all, count their subscribers by thousands, whereas thirty years ago it was difficult to secure as many hundreds. On the staff of some of the best newspapers literary talent of a very high order is engaged, and in some cases the editors are well-paid for their labour. Still it must be remarked that most of these mofussil newspapers are enterprises carried on for finding work for the press hands which cannot be fully engaged otherwise in their own proper work, and the so-called editors are insufficiently educated and poorly paid".

Mahadev Govind Ranade himself started the *Indu Prakash* in January 1862. He edited the English side of this bilingual journal for four months, his associate Marathi editor being J. S. Gadgil. Its emphasis was on social reform and politically it was moderate in tone. The paper continued publishing till 1924 under the proprietorship of the Indu Vijay Co. Ltd.

Gujerati:

Gujerati journalism owes its inception to the enterprise of the leaders of the Parsi community as also to the fact that the first Gujerati newspapers, the *Mumbaina Samachar,* began its long career in 1822 with a full-fledged printing press complete with types whereas the first Marathi newspapers was produced ten years later in a lithograph press. The Parsi pioneer in printing was Bhimji Parikh who persuaded the East India Company to bring out at his expense two experts in type-cutting. The experts were provided but Bhimji through his own efforts and by organising local talent cut out a complete set of characters which were known at the time as Vaniashahi Lipi or Banian character. The Surat office of the East India Company reported in 1676 to its London office that some papers printed by Bhimji looked very well and legible. Later in 1777, Rustomji Keshaspathi started a printing press in Bombay at which the first English paper, the *Bombay Courier,* started by Douglas Nicholson was printed. The paper carried advertisements in Gujerati, Marathi, Kannada, Urdu and Portuguese. Jijibhai Behramji Chapgar, the printer, was expert in the carving of Gujerati characters and the first book published by him was a translation of Zend Avestha in Gujerati. Chapgar's friend, Fardoonji Marzaban, learnt the art of type-cutting, taught it to the members of his family and started the Gujerati Chhapkhano in 1812.

*Ten years later on July 1, 1822, he published the first Gujerati paper, the *Mumbaina Samachar* which was launched as a weekly with 150 subscribers—a promising start for those days. Marzaban kept clear of all sectional controversies but had his columns open to all and he catered for all communities, not exclusively for the Parsis. He came unscathed through the calendar controversy to which reference has already been made in an earlier chapter, while rival newspapers established to propagate the cause of the Kadmis and the Shahanshahis fought each other out of existence. The *Mumbaina Samachar* held the field alone for eight years, and was converted from a weekly into a daily in the tenth year of its publication. In the eighth year of its existence, a rival appeared, the *Mumbai Vartaman,* started by Nowroji Dorabji Chandaru who is said to have later started another Anglo-Gujerati paper called the *Mercury* of which little is known. The *Mumbai Vartaman* made an auspicious start and after the first 13 months developed into a bi-weekly under the expanded title of *Mumbaina Halkaru Ane Vartaman.* It remained in publication for 13 years but was unable to make headway against the well entrenched *Samachar* and closed down in 1843.

Another paper to make an auspicious start was the *Jam-e-Jamshed,* a Gujerati weekly, started by Pestonji Manekji Motiwala in 1831. This paper was later taken over by the Marzaban family. It was converted into a daily in 1853 and is even to this day a popular Parsi Gujerati daily. Between 1832 and 1854 several newspapers were started in Bombay. Of six of these there is no adequate record beyond the date of their publication and the date of their demise. They are listed in the order in which they were started:

	Started on	Closed on
Mombaina Chabuk	1832	1850
Doorbin	1840	1856
Mombaina Kasud	1842	1843
Samachar Durpun	1844	1845
Chitrangan Durpun	1845	1846
Chabook	1850	1851

In a biography of Karsondas Mulji by B. N. Motiwala, there is a reference to one Mr. Nowrosji Dorabji who edited a newspaper called *Chabook.* It was described as a vernacular newspaper of repute which contributed its own mite to spread among its readers sane thoughts on necessary reforms in various directions. In 1858, however, it came under the influence of the "Maharajas" and on 16th September, 1860, it published an article by Maharaja Jadunathji in his controversy with Karsondas Mulji, editor of *Satya Prakash,* which ultimately led to the famous "Maharaj Libel Case" of May 1861. The *Chabook* came to an ignominious end as a result of a libel suit filed against it by Sheth Lakhmidas Khimji and was forced to close down. The reference is obviously to the last paper listed above and it would appear that it ceased publication some time in 1861, though the table above gives the year as 1851.

Note.—*In a paper read by Sunderrao Bhaskar Vaidya before the Royal Asiatic Society, the following passage occurs:

"Shri Shivaji Maharaj had ordered a printing press but it was found to be useless as it could not print Marathi books. This press was lying with Bhimji Parikh. Mr. Fardoonji Marzaban bought this press (1800) and engraved Gujerati types by his own hands, but they were not beautiful so he ordered one Gujerati fount from England. This cost him much".

In Ahmedabad, the Gujarat Vernacular Society started the *Vartaman* in 1849 under the editorship of Amareshwar Kubardas, an employee of the Society. The paper was lithographed. Sir Alexander Kinlock Forbes, Additional Judge in Ahmedabad, was a frequent contributor to the paper and a leading member of the Society whose office-bearers were all Englishmen. An article appeared in this paper in 1851 criticising the local jail administration. Harrison, the Judge in charge of the jail, and himself a member of the Gujarati Vernacular Society, sought to bring pressure to bear on the editor, which the Society resisted. The Government of Bombay was not impressed by the attitude of the Society and transferred Sir Alexander to Surat. After this, the *Vartaman* declined and finally closed down. It was involved in a protracted controversy with the *Shamsher Bahadur* (started 1854) edited by an ex-employee of the *Vartaman*, Lallubhai Raichand. The *Shamsher Bahadur* closed down as a result of a libel suit and the *Vartaman* wound up soon after. The Gujarat Vernacular Society took over in 1854 from the Vidya Vardhak Mandali a Gujarati monthly magazine named *Budhi Prakash* which it had started four years earlier. Two papers were started in Surat in 1850 but both were shortlived. One of these is believed to have been started by Sir Alexander Kinlock Forbes under the name of *Surat Samachar*. The printing of this bi-weekly was undertaken by the city Kotwal, Bejonji, and it was edited by a teacher of repute, Mehtaji Durgaram Manchharam. The other paper, *Parhejgar*, confined itself to preaching prohibition.

The *Chitragnan Durpun* edited by Behramji Jamshedji Gandhi published a life sketch of the prophet Mohammad together with his picture (impressionistic) which led to the Parsi-Muslim riots of October 18, 1846. For many days members of the small Parsi community were beaten up by Muslim mobs and they felt that the police and the Government had not taken adequate measures to protect them. In order to take up the cause of the community in this dispute and with a view generally to advocate social reform among the Parsis, Dadabhai Nowroji, with the financial assistance of Khorshedji Kama, started the *Rast Goftar* (truth-speaker). It was Dadabhai Nowroji's view that existing Parsi newspapers were either orthodox in their views or lacked the courage to oppose the powerful orthodox elements in the community. Seven years later, however, he made a declaration pledging his paper to the service of all Indians irrespective of caste or creed. A frequent contributor to this paper was the great Hindu reformer, Karsondas Mulji (editor of *Satya Prakash*) who edited the *Rast Goftar* for 9 months in 1858 and for 2½ years from 1861-63 when the two papers were amalgamated under the title of *Rast Goftar and Satya Prakash*. Karsondas Mulji was succeeded by Kekhashru Kabraji (1862-1902), who did not share Dadabhai Nowroji's political views and frequently criticised the policies of the Indian National Congress of which Dadabhai Nowroji was a leading light. The Parsi nationalist leader wrote to Sir Dinshaw Wachha who was in proprietorial control of the paper:—

"I am sorry about the opposition (to the Congress) of some Parsis.... the *Rast Goftar* is my greatest distress—the instrument that I had so fondly cherished..".

The editor, Mr. Kabraji, replied saying that Congress policy was detrimental to the interests of the Parsis and of the British Government. The *Rast Goftar*, however, continued to advocate social reforms among the Parsis and remained in publication till 1921.

During its existence from 1852-1861, Karsondas Mulji's *Satya Prakash* made a name for itself which is still recalled with awe and respect by Indian journalists. Even in its time it was acknowledged to be the fearless champion of truth. Karsondas Mulji relentlessly exposed the debauchery and licentiousness which surrounded the powerful religious heads of the Vallabha/Vaishnav sect. His powerful and influential opponent was Jadunathji Maharaj who sued him for libel in the famous "Maharaj Libel Case". The court awarded Karsondas Mulji Rs. 11,500 as costs. He had actually spent much more on the protracted proceedings but friends made good the difference. Karsondas Mulji was a prolific writer and intrepid crusader. He published a number of works denouncing the corruption of the priesthood, advocating education of women and the re-marriage of widows and, generally, exhorting the community to adopt a progressive and enlightened outlook. Besides the two papers with which he was closely associated, he also edited a Gujerati magazine for women, *Stri Bodh,* and two or three other periodicals.

A purely commercial newspaper *Akhbar-e-Sodagar* was started by Dadabhai Cowasji Dadhiwalla in 1852 as a bi-weekly. Fourteen years later, it assumed the English title of the *Native Merchants' Gazette.* The *Samachar Durpun* and the *Chabook* were merged in it in 1868 and 1872 respectively. The paper and the press in which it was printed were purchased by Ranchhoddas B. Lotwalla for Rs. 4,000 in 1913, and the former was converted into the daily, *Hindustan.*

Nussarwanji Dorabji, better known as the editor of the *Parsi Punch* (1858), which became the *Hindi Punch* (a humorous weekly) in 1888 and continued upto 1930, started the *Aap Akhatiyar* named after him family, in 1854. This paper continued in uneventful existence till 1865.

The Gujerati Press falls into two sections—the Hindu and the Parsi. Except in one instance, they seem to have functioned apart from each other. Thus while the first Parsi newspaper, the *Bombay Samachar,* started with an up-to-date printing press, the *Vartaman* published in Ahmedabad in 1849, under the auspices of Gujarat Vernacular Society was lithographed. The newspapers of each community took up the question of reform within that community. The *Bombay Samachar* alone kept its column open to all without distinction. Dadabhai Nowroji's *Rast Goftar* made an auspicious start but under the editorship of Khurshedji Kabraji, the great Parsi social reformer, it made its peace with the British Government and dissociated itself from the Indian National Congress. The newspapers that came to grief did so either because they engaged in limited but loud controversies of the moment or because the personalities behind them were extinguished. Some of these newspapers ceased publication as a result of libel suits the cost of which precluded their continuance.

On the eve of the great rebellion the Gujerati papers publishing in Bombay were all owned by Parsis, the leading papers being the *Bombay Samachar,* the *Jam-e-Jamshed,* and the *Rast Goftar.* Two of these papers are still publishing while the third continued until the second decade of the 20th century.

Kaṇnaḍa:

For a variety of reasons there were no newspapers before 1857 in the Kannada-speaking area which was known as the Southern Maratha Country and where Marathi was the official language. In a report on the schools

in the Southern Maratha Country submitted by Bal Shastri Jambhekar to the Secretary to the Board of Education, Bombay, he says that all the old records of the country are in Marathi, a knowledge of which is "an object of ambition to all the Brahmins and the higher classes of Hindus." There was also the problem of the variation in the language as current in the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western districts of the area. Bal Shastri Jambhekar gives a masterly analysis of these differences which together with the liberal conclusion that schools should be established in the area for instruction through the medium of the mother-tongue hold good to this day:—

"There can be no doubt that the Kanarese spoken in the Southern Maratha Country is different from that used in the territory of Mysore, which is generally admitted as the seat of the pure Karnataka language. Like all languages, the Kanarese, on the borders of the above mentioned Province, freely admits the words and idiom of the languages spoken in the countries by which it is surrounded; namely, of Marathi to the North, Telungee to the East, Dravidee to the South, and Mulbaree on the West. This is the reason why the Kanarese of Madras is so unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Southern Maratha Country; and why the languages of both provinces are so widely different from the pure form in which the Kanarese is spoken in Mysore. Hence Mr. Shaw is right in his opinion that the dialect of the Southern Maratha Country is a mixture of Marathi and Kanarese, but from my own knowledge of the language, I feel myself justified in saying that the difference between it and the pure Kanarese is not much greater than that which exists between the Marathi of the Poona district and that of the Southern Maratha Country. The language of the one is polite, grammatical, and pure; and that of the other coarse, incorrect, and mixed up with Marathi. The difference between them, however, is not so very great as to render the language of the one province unintelligible to the inhabitants of the other. In the case of the Madras Kanarese, in which the Government Regulations are printed, the language is too much mixed up with Telungee, and cannot be understood with difficulty in this Presidency, but it can be easily shown that the Kanarese of the Southern Maratha Country is not so widely different from the pure standard of the Mysore language, as it is from the dialect into which the Regulations are translated.

The objections urged by Mr. Shaw refer more to the continuance of the Kanarese language as a channel of official communication than to the question of educating the Natives of the Southern Maratha Country in that language. For the difficulty that has been experienced in forcing the Koolkurnies to learn written Kanarese, as well as the exclusion of the Natives of the other parts of the Presidency from all public employment in the Collectorates of Belgaum and Dharwar, which is apprehended from the measures adopted by Government, have nothing to do with the abstract question, whether the Natives of these provinces should be educated in their vernacular language or in Marathi, which though it has been the official language of the country since the ascendancy of the Peshwas, is but imperfectly understood by a few residing in large Towns, and is absolutely unknown to the mass of the population in the districts. Though it may make little difference to the present race of the ignorant inhabitants of the Southern Maratha Country, whether their Petitions are written in Marathi or Kanarese, yet there is a considerable difference in giving the rudiments of education to the rising generation through their mother-tongue, and imparting the same through the medium of a foreign language; and the advantages derived from the former course are too evident to require illustration. As to the danger of corrupting the Kanarese language by introducing in public business the impure dialect spoken in the Southern Maratha Country, no apprehension of that sort need be entertained, so far as the effects of carrying on education through it are concerned.

For should those Kanarese translations and original works, which may be intended as Class Books, be carefully executed by people critically acquainted with the pure form in which it is spoken in Mysore, their extensive circulation in the Country would, to a great extent, contribute to purify and improve the dialect now in use in the Southern districts of the Bombay

Presidency. I need only add that in the event of its being deemed requisite to prepare a series of Class Books for the Kanarese Schools, there may be no difficulty in finding persons in the Southern Maratha Country, competent to write in pure Kanarese style, free from all provincial terms and idioms, which distinguish the dialect of one part of the same Country from that of another".

It is a matter for regret that this robust optimism in the matter of evolving a pure Kanarese language by making Kanarese the medium of instruction and by providing an adequate range of literature on the subject, so ably expressed in 1842 did not inform Government policy until nearly 30 years later.

The first Kannada newspaper was started by Christian Missionaries who had earlier been publishing tracts which were distributed in the Taluka schools through the agency of Assistant Collectors until Bal Shastri Jambhekar put a stop to the practice. He indented on the depository at Dharwar for a number of Kanarese books and made them available to the masters of schools in the Southern taluka of Belgaum where there was not a single printed book. The history of journalism in Kanarese begins therefore at a later period which will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Tamil: While Tamil claims a literature over 2,000 years old, the dissemination of knowledge was dependent largely on word of mouth and later written by hand with an iron style on palm leaves. This laborious process of recording knowledge and passing it down continued through the vicissitudes of religion fanaticism and the rise and fall of chiefs and princes who were the patrons of culture until the art of printing was introduced towards the end of 16 century. S. Soma Sundara Desikar and P. N. Appuswami, in a brief survey of the growth of Tamil literature, record that the missionaries who introduced printing in Tamil published the first sectarian book printed in the language in 1575. This was followed by books and tracts published for the limited purpose of Christian missionary propaganda. The first printed Tamil book of any literary significance was the *Tamil Expositor* published in 1811, a quarto of 92 pages on Tamil idioms. An important figure in the early development of Tamil literature was Raja Serfoji of the Tanjore Musnad (1798) who later handed over his kingdom to the East India Company and devoted himself exclusively to the pursuit of literature ,fine arts, astronomy and cookery. Many scholars gathered round him and the credit goes to him of raising the first collection of Tamil books which formed the famous library at Tanjore. The East India Company too formed a College of Tamil Pandits in Fort St. George (Madras) with the object of printing and publishing important Tamil classics. Many valuable Tamil works were published by this college. Then followed translations of a wide range of books from other languages chiefly English and school books. The Madras School Books Society was founded in 1820, and published a wide range of books for students from the infant class to the highest standard. Then followed works on grammar, a dictionary and scientific literature.

The first attempt at Tamil journalism was made by the Religious Tract Society in 1831 when it undertook publication of the *Tamil Magazine*. It would appear that this journal did not continue to be published for more than two or three years despite the fact that it received the Government's support. The Rev. J. Long in a report submitted in 1859 gives the date of

the first newspaper in Tamil and Telugu as 1833. As Long's primary concern was the Bengal Press and as he complains of the inadequacy of reports of newspapers published in other establishments, it is possible that the *Tamil Magazine* was first started in 1831 and continued publication for a few years after 1833. The next newspaper published in Tamil was the *Rajavrithi Bodhini* published in 1855 at a press of the same name and containing general intelligence, chiefly translations from English newspapers. The name of the editor is not known and the circulation of the paper is said to be 100 copies. The other weekly paper was the *Dinavartamani* (1855), a journal of general intelligence, domestic foreign, etc., edited by the Rev. P. Percival and published at the Dravidian Press. It would appear that this newspaper too received a grant from the Madras Government. It is said to have had a large circulation (1,000) at two annas a copy, the Director of Public Instruction justifying the support given as follows: "the grant of such a character, whether it be looked at in an educational or in a political point of view can hardly be over-estimated." At this time the American Mission Press published the *Quarterly Repository* which was apparently distributed free of charge and had a circulation of 800. It would seem to have been the practice in Madras (where the Adam Licensing Regulation of 1823 was not enforced) not to give the name of the editor, as only one of the newspapers provides the information. Three other newspapers were published—one in Telugu, another in Persian and the third in Persian and English—from Madras but the last two papers had very small circulations.

In the pre-rebellion period, Tamil journalism engaged neither in social nor in political controversies. Run exclusively by Missionaries, information must have been confined largely to material approved by Government. Articles were extracted from English language newspapers without reproducing any of their objectionable features. As already pointed out even the English language newspapers were careful in their publication of matters likely to offend the Government as censorship in Madras was more stringent than elsewhere in India in the early years of newspaper production.

Malayalam and other languages: In Malayalam, as in Tamil, the printing press was introduced by Christian Missionaries towards the end of the 15th century and the first publications were Missionary tracts and religious propaganda literature and although considerable printing must have been done in the interval, the first book printed and published in Malayalam in 1772 came from Rome and regular types in place of the earlier woodcuts followed. The only newspapers published in the early period were *Vignyana Nikshepam* (1840) published from Kottayam and *Paschima Tharaka* (1862) from Cochin.

No newspapers were published until a much later period in Punjabi, Oriya and Assamese.

The following observations in Long's review on the last two languages may, however, be recorded:

"There are two other languages bearing a strong affinity with Bengali and likely to be eventually absorbed in it, the Assamese, and Oriya. They are used by small popuations who are too few to afford a prospect, that like the Dutch or Welsh, they will be able to create a vernacular literature; already in Orissa and Assam when boys make any progress in these dialects,

they go on to the more polished Bengali, and the Government wisely encourage the study of Bengali in all the senior classes".*

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*Note.—*Similarly in the Santal and Chota Nagpur Districts the people are anxious to study Hindi, which brings them into contact with all the Hindu population of the North Western Provinces.*

"The Oriya language is of Sanskrit origin, it has a very small number of original works, and only a few school books, tracts, and Hindu books have been printed in it. Far different is it with the Assamese whose Ramayan, Mahabharat and Bhagavat Gita were translated four centuries ago, while they have had *buragi* or local histories in their language since the 13th century, and similar to what was in Bengal, the founders of Assamese vernacular literature were Vaishnabs who flourished four centuries ago.*

*Note.—*Among the works original or translated in Assamese there are 65 extant chiefly Vaisnab works, and composed several certuries ago; there are 42 dramatic works, purely original productions, having for their subjects some of the events of the Ramayan and Mahabharat; the principal Sanskrit works on medicine have been also translated.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE GREAT REBELLION AND AFTER

The rebellion of 1857, or the War of Independence, broke suddenly and interrupted the continuing growth of the Press under the freedom conferred on it by Sir Charles Metcalfe. It cannot be said that the Press played any part, however insignificant, in bringing it about. The Rev. J. Long, who was a consistent champion of the Indian language Press, however, writes in his 1859 report.

"The opinions of the Native Press may often be regarded as the safety valve which gives warning of danger, thus had the Delhi Native Newspapers of January 1857 been consulted by European functionaries, they would have seen in them how the Natives were rife for revolt, and were expecting aid from Persia and Russia".

He calculated, however, Six million readers or hearers for the 600,000 copies of hundreds of Bengali books published in 1857, at the rate of 10 per book. Of the newspapers printed for sale, he estimates 2,950 copies with about 30,000 readers at approximately the same rate. In the North West Provinces the 1850 report lists 28 newspapers with a total circulation of 1,497; in 1853, 39 newspapers and periodicals are shown having a circulation of 1,839 and in 1854 the same newspapers have a total circulation of 2,216 while in 1858, 12 publishing newspapers and periodicals, account for a total circulation of 3,223. It must be remembered that newspapers in the North West Provinces with large circulations (between 200 and 250) were almost invariably supported by Government purchasing as many as 200 copies of each issue for distribution. The Press in the North West Provinces was subjected to the most careful scrutiny in the pre-rebellion period and the only relevant objectionable publication cited was that of an attempt to ridicule the notion of British expulsion from India on the ground that "it leaves room for misconception". Two instances of "misuse of the editorial chair" in 1852 relate to an editor's complaint against being summoned to Court as a witness and publication by another editor of libellous articles against an official for which he was imprisoned for two months. The refrain throughout is that the Press does not adequately reflect public opinion and ventilate public grievances.

Once the Rebellion started, however, the situation seems to have changed. J. Long consistently advocates encouragement of the Press rather than the imposition of restrictions. He writes: "Much at that period (of the Rebellion) was written and spoken on the subject of the Native Press, and many hasty remarks were made respecting it, while some said it was so radically corrupt that it ought to be abolished......of late some officials have proposed cutting the knot, and either suppressing the Native Press or establishing rigorous censorship. We trust that the perusal of this report will show how suicidal a measure of this kind would be to the interests of good Government and sound education". He further remarks: "The English newspapers in too many cases cherish the spirit of antagonism of race (some English editors freely lavished abuse on the Natives). Yet during the Punjab War and the Rebellion, the Native Press, though viewing affairs more from an oriental than an English standpoint, has maintained

on the whole a moderate tone—very different, from the Persian and Urdu papers.

Lord Canning's speech introducing the Act of June 1857 to regulate the establishment of printing presses and to restrain the circulation of printed books and papers presents a different picture. He said:

"I doubt whether it is fully understood or known to what an audacious extent sedition has been poured into the hearts of the native population of India within the last few weeks under the guise of intelligence supplied to them by the native newspapers.

It has been done sedulously, cleverly, artfully. Facts have been grossly misrepresented—so grossly, that, with educated and informed minds, the very extravagance of the misrepresentation must compel discredit.......

In addition to perversion of facts, there are constant vilifications of the Government, false assertions of its purposes and unceasing attempts to sow discontent and hatred between it and its subjects........................

While I am glad to give credit to the conductors of the European Press for the loyalty and intelligence which mark their labours, I am bound by sincerity to say that I have seen passages in some of the papers under their management, which, though perfectly innocuous so far as European readers are concerned, may, at times like the present, be turned to the most mischievous purposes in the hands of people capable of dressing them up for the native ear. I am glad to admit that the Bill is not especially levelled at the European Press; but I do not see any reason, nor, do I consider it possible in justice to draw a line of demarcation between European and Native Publications. The Bill accordingly applies to every kind of publication whatever the language in which it may be printed, or the nature of the persons who are responsible for what is put forth in it.................

I cannot conceal from the Council that I have proposed this measure with extreme reluctance. It is one which no man bred in the atmosphere of English public life can propose to those who are vested with the high authority of legislating for English dominions without some feelings of compunction and hesitation. But there are times in the existence of every State in which something of the liberties and rights which it jealously cherishes and scrupulously guards in ordinary seasons, must be sacrificed for the public welfare. Such is the state of India at this moment. Such a time has come upon us. The liberty of the Press is no exception".

From Bombay Lord Elphinstone who had least reason to complain against the Press in that area, wrote a strong note supporting the imposition of restrictions, with the avowed object of strengthening the hands of the Governor-General against possible opposition from England or in India to the proposed Act.

Act No. XV of 1857 to regulate the establishment of printing presses and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers was thus passed, reintroducing the main features of the Adam Licensing Regulation of 1823. The Act prohibited the keeping or using of printing presses without a licence from Government, which assumed discretionary powers to grant licences and to revoke them at any time. It conferred on Government the power to prohibit the publication or circulation of any newspaper, book or other printed matter. No distinction was made between publications in English and in the Indian languages. It was applicable to the whole of India and its duration was limited to one year (*i.e.* till June 13, 1858). The procedure for obtaining licences was laid down and the conditions imposed on licensed printing presses were as follows:—

"That no book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work printed at such press, or with such materials or articles, shall contain any observations or statements impugning the motives or designs of the British Government either in England or in India or in any way tending to bring the said

Government into hatred or contempt, to excite disaffection or unlawful resistance to its orders, or to weaken its lawful authority, or the lawful authority of its civil or military servants:

"That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper or other work shall contain observations or statements having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference by Government with their religious opinions and observances:

"That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper or other work shall contain observations having a tendency to weaken the friendship towards the British Governmet of native princes, chiefs, or states in dependence upon or alliance with it".

(The restrictions applied equally to original articles and reproductions from other publications.)

As the Metcalfe Statute continued in force and the new act was only a temporary measure, the provision for licensing was in addition to the registration procedure already in force.

The new act brought trouble to many newspapers, *Bengal Hurkaru* (owned by Dwarkanath Tagore and others) lost its licence which was, however, restored to it after the editor (Sidney Laman Blanchard) relinquished his post. The editor of the *Friend of India* was warned for publishing an article on the "Centenary of Plassey" on the ground that it was a dangerous and provocative article. The editor wrote a facetious article on his paper being warned under the "Gagging Act" and made a personal attack on the Governor-General. The paper's licence was about to be revoked but the order was withheld on a last-minute assurance on behalf of the absent proprietor. Many Indian editors came within the scope of the act and the printers and publishers of the *Durbin,* the *Sultan-ul-Akhbar* and the *Samachar Sudhabarshan* were charged before the Supreme Court with publishing seditious libels. The defendants connected with the first two papers pleaded guilty and were discharged. The third defendant was prosecuted but the trial resulted in a verdict of not guilty. Another paper, the *Gulshan-i-nau-bahar* ceased publication on its press being seized for the publication of "malignant" articles in the newspaper.

Outside Bengal no action of any significance was taken against the Indian-owned or Indian language Press. In the North West Provinces most of the Urdu newspapers had ceased publication with the outbreak of the rebellion. In Bombay the three leading papers published in Gujerati, the *Bombay Samachar,* the *Jam-e-Jamshed* and *Rast Goftar,* put up a vigorous defence of Indians against the attack made on them in the English Press. Leading the attack was Dr. George Buist, editor of the *Bombay Times,* who cried for the blood of Indians as reprisals for the massacres during the Rebellion. The Government of Bombay seem to have taken no action but an Indian shareholder of that paper, Mr. Nowroji Furdoonji, insisted on the editor being restrained. R. Buist was asked to give an undertaking that he would moderate his tone and on his refusing to do so he was dismissed. Robert Knight who succeeded him converted the *Bombay Times* into the leading Anglo-Indian paper to fight the cause of the Indians.

The intensity of feeling at the time and the firmness with which Lord Canning met it, is best illustrated by a petition presented to the Queen for the recall of the Governor-General, signed by the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta. The charges against the Governor-General were weakness and vacil-

lation to which was attributed the massacre at Kanpur and the sufferings of the garrison at Lucknow and of its Christian population including hundreds of women and children. The acts which earned for Lord Canning the title of "clemency" were denounced as misplaced, impolitic and iniquitous lenity, calculated to excite contempt and invite attack on every side, "by showing to the world the Government of India so powerless to punish the rebellion, and so indifferent to the sufferings which have been endured by the victims of the rebellion, that it allows the blood of your Majesty's English and Christian subjects to flow in torrents, and their wives, sisters, and daughters to be outraged and dishonoured without adequate retribution". Arguments which figured prominently in the petition were that the Press Act and the Arms Act were applied to all without discrimination. The petitioners wrote:

"That Act (The Press Act) has been so systematically used by the Governor-General and his Council for the intimidation of the press, the suppression of the truth, and of every discussion or expression of opinion unfavourable or unpleasant to Government, and even for the prevention of all criticism of the conduct, or misconduct, of Government officials, that there is not now remaining one newspaper in this Presidency which dares to publish here that which is the opinion of all British India as to the conduct of its Government, and various of its officers".

The other point of view is given by E. A. Samuells, Commissioner of Revenue for the Division of Patna:

"I confess it appears to me that articles of this description (attacking Indians and calling for their exclusion from all responsible position) are much more likely to endanger the stability of the Government than any amount of abuse, whether of the measures or of the members of Government. They have a direct tendency to excite disaffection amongst large masses of the population, and to convert *what is now a military revolt* into a national rebellion...........At all stations which I passed on my way up the river, I understood that the violent tone which the papers had assumed towards the Mohamedan community had excited alarm and anxiety amongst them, and that they were in dread lest the Government should issue an edict of proscription such as the Calcutta papers advocated.......................... it is not unfairly argued that under the present licensing system, when the Government allows writings of this kind, which are manifestly in violation of the conditions of the licence, to continue unchecked, it must be supposed to view them without displeasure, and I do think that great care ought to be taken to dispel this idea, and that the papers ought to be peremptorily prohibited from indulging in a style and tone of writing calculated to excite disaffection in any large class or section of the native community".

Ineffectual representations were made to the Court of Directors against the Press Act. It may be said that writings in the Anglo-Indian Press during and after the rebellion created a gulf between it and Indian edited papers which thereafter only widened in times of political crisis.

A little over a year after the rebellion the Government of India passed from the East India Company to the Crown and Lord Canning became the first Viceroy of India. The new act and the Queen's Proclamation went a long way to restore public confidence, and the Press which had suffered a setback came to life with renewed vigour. Responsive to the changed circumstances Lord Canning set up an "editors' room" where some State papers were laid on the table for the information of journalists. When the Indian Penal Code drawn up by Lord Macaulay came up for final adoption in 1860, Lord Canning suggested the omission of the sedition section on the ground that it may be taken as an attack on the liberty of the Press, and when the Indian Penal Code was adopted in 1860 (Act XLV) the sedition section was

omitted. Ten years later, however, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen was entrusted with the task of drafting a bill to amend the Indian Penal Code, incorporating a section on seditious writings and speeches. Act XXVII of 1870 was passed embodying a section relating to sedition which was later to be incorporated in the Indian Penal Code as the famous section 124A. It read as follows:

"Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine".

In 1861, some sensation was caused in newspaper circles by what was known as the *Nil Darpan* case. The Indigo Commission had been appointed and had submitted its report. Earlier, Indigo cultivation had been a subject of protracted controversy in the columns of the Indian Press and in periodicals. The criticism was that the cultivation of Indigo was not voluntary on the part of the raiyat, that the best land was forcibly ploughed up and resown with indigo when it had already been sown with other crops, that the raiyat became indebted to the factory, lost his personal freedom and was oppressed, kidnapped, imprisoned and outraged by servants of the factory. The planters had their own case. On the strength of the Indigo Commission's report action was taken in certain cases. At about this time a Bengali drama on the subject of indigo cultivation was published with the title of *Nil Darpan*. A translation of this drama was made from Bengali under the supervision of the Rev. J. Long printed and distributed to a number of officials with the sanction of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr. The landholders and commercial associations sued the printer, Manuel, and Long for libel in the Supreme Court. The printer was fined, and Long was fined as well as sentenced to a month's imprisonment. The fine was paid by Babu Kali Prosanna Sinha. Seton-Karr too was in trouble as he had misunderstood or exceeded the instructions of the Lieutenant Governor. He placed his resignation of the offices of Legislative Member for Bengal and Secretary to Government in the hands of the Lieutenant Governor, Sir J. P. Grant, who did not accept his resignation. When the matter went up to the Governor-General, however, he passed certain strictures on the circumstances in which the mistake had been perpetrated and ruled on Mr. Seton-Karr's resignation:

"His Excellency (Governor-General) in Council cannot consider that the Government is thereby absolved from the duty of making sure that the important ministerial functions of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal shall not be resumed by an officer by whom, from whatever cause, they have been exercised with grievous indiscretion. And in this view it is decidedly the opinion of the Governor-General-in-Council that, when Mr. Seton-Karr shall no longer have to discharge the duties of his present position in the Legislative Council, he should not be allowed to return to the office of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal".

The *Nil Darpan* case figured prominently in the Press, both Indian and Anglo-Indian. Mr. Seton-Karr addressed a long explanation to the *Statesman* in order to "clear up charges of unfair dealing and of personal hostility to the planters and to make such explanation as was due to persons who felt themselves aggrieved by the publication". Long, who had consistently advised against any restrictions being imposed on the Indian language Press, had the unqualified support of the Indian newspapers.

During this time the Bengal Press began to exert, a significant influence on Government policies. An outstanding paper was the *Hindu Patriot* founded in 1853, by Girish Chander Ghosh. It made an uncertain start but after two years it was taken over by Harishchandra Mukherjee who maintained it with a contribution of Rs. 100 a month from his personal income*. Harishchandra Mukherjee wielded a powerful pen and under his editorship the journal was conducted with great ability. He was described as "a terror to the bureaucracy as well as to the white colonists and planters in Bengal." The credit for starting the Indigo agitation in the columns of the *Hindu Patriot* goes to Man Mohan Ghosh as a result of whose writings, it is claimed, the Government of India appointed the Indigo Commission with Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr as President. Man Mohan never missed a sitting of the Commission which was held at Krishangar and took copious notes of the evidence for his paper. Harishchandra Mukherjee died on June 14, 1861, and the paper passed into the hands of Babu Kali Prosana Sinha who ran it at a loss for some months before making it over to Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar who invited Kristo Das Pal take editorial charge of the paper in November 1861. In July 1862 the proprietorship was with a Board of Trustees on whose behalf Kristo Das edited and managed the paper, an arrangement which continued till 1884 when Kristo Das died. Kristo Das was moderate in his views and restrained, though pointed, in his criticism. The relations between him and Sir George Campbell, Lt. Governor, were strained for a time. When the Gaekwar of Baroda (Mulhar Rao) was deposed in 1874, the *Hindu Patriot* criticised Government and exposed the vulnerable points in the prosecution. Kristo Das advocated the admission of Indians in increasing number to Government appointments and opposed the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 though he did not actively participate in the public agitation. The *Hindu Patriot* was financed by the Bengal zamindars (the British India Association) but it had nevertheless a large circulation among Europeans and Indians and was known for its independence, loyalty and learning.

About this time Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar started the *Shom Prakash* under the editorship of Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan. The paper is described as an able weekly issuing from the Sanskrit press, giving much useful information and commenting freely on political occurrences of the day. The *Shom Prakash* made its own contribution to the Indigo controversy.

Man Mohan Ghosh, whose association with the *Hindu Patriot* has already been described, started the *Indian Mirror* (published fortnightly) in August 1861, with financial assistance from Babu Devendranath Tagore, founder of the Tattvabodhini Sabha and the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* (1839-1902). Associated with Devendranath Tagore was Keshab Chandra Sen who began as his pupil and later became a co-worker in the Adi Brahmo Samaj. Devendranath Tagore was opposed to idol worship but he favoured the Hindu form of marriage and disliked widow and inter-caste marriages. Keshab Chandra Sen stood for a complete break with the past. When the two parted company, Keshab Chandra Sen retained possession of the *Indian Mirror* (it is possible that Devendranath Tagore did not very strongly contest possession of the paper) and conducted it until he went to England in 1870 to study "Christian life as displayed and illustrated in England". On his return to India he started the *Sulab Samachar*, a pice newspaper which was a great success. He converted the *Indian Mirror* into a daily and started the weekly

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*NOTE.—He was employed as a Clerk in the Office of the Military Auditor-General and at the time of his death was drawing a salary of Rs. 400 a month.

Sunday Mirror. Keshab Chandra Sen agitated the passage of the Civil Marriage Act of 1872 which legalised inter-marriage, prohibited bigamy and allowed re-marriage of widows subject to the condition that the parties declared at the time of registration that they were not Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, Buddhists, Jains or Parsees. In 1878, however, Keshab Chandra Sen married his daughter at an early age to the Maharaja of Cooch-Behar according to orthodox Hindu rites. The marriage completed his earlier breach with the Brahmo Samaj and he established the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj on May 15, 1878 as opposed to Tagore's Adi Brahmo Samaj. Later Keshab Chandra Sen broke away once again and founded a Church with the title of "the New Dispensation".

Girish Chandra Ghosh who founded the *Hindu Patriot* later started the *Bengalee* in 1868 (the earlier date of 1862 is given but 1868 seems more probable.) Like the *Patriot*, the *Bengalee* was soon acknowledged to be a fearless exponent of public views but it lacked financial stability. The paper was taken over by Bacharam Chatterjee and was declining rapidly under his proprietor-editorship when Surendranath Banerjea negotiated its purchase through some common friends. The deal is best recorded in Surendranath Banerjea's own words:

"I paid Rs. 10 to Babu Bacharam Chatterjee, as consideration money for the goodwill of the paper. I owe it to his memory to say that he would not ask for more nor accept more. Indeed, he wanted to make a free gift of the paper, but, as Babu Romanath Law pointed out that some money had to be paid in order to give legal validity to the transaction, he accepted the small pecuniary consideration to which I have referred. I paid Rs. 1,600 for the press, borrowing from a friend Rs. 700 for the purpose, which I repaid after a couple of years without interest, as my friend would charge none. I mention these facts, trivials as they may seem, in order to record my appreciation of the good wishes and the unspoken blessings of many, amid which the *Bengalee* newspaper came under my charge".

It would appear that Surendranath Banerjea found difficulty in supporting the paper, for he sought the help of the Indian Association which, however, was not forthcoming. Surendranath Banerjea and a friend worked on this weekly paper (published on Saturdays) "during a good part of Friday night, correcting proofs, writing out copies if necessary and giving direction to the printers". The *Bengalee* was conducted on independent lines and on occasion strongly differed from its Indian contemporaries.

A small paper which did not attract much attention when it was started (1868) was the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published by Sisir Kumar Ghose and his brothers from the village Amrit Bazar in the district of Jessore. The Ghose brothers, eight in all, were a remarkable family. The eldest brother, Basanta Kumar, took care of the education of the younger brothers, and it was with him that the idea of starting a fortnightly magazine originated. Sisir Kumar, the third brother, was sent off to Calcutta to purchase a printing machine and he returned with an old wooden contraption which he bought for Rs. 32. He also picked up the rudiments of printing in Calcutta and brought home with him a printer, a compositor, and a small supply of types, printing paper and accessories. Basanta Kumar started a fortnightly journal named *Amrita Prabahini*. The paper ceased publication after a few months and Basanta Kumar died. Soon after, Hemanta Kumar and Sisir Kumar gave up their jobs in the Income-tax Department and started the Bengalee weekly, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Some leading advocates and friends helped the brothers financially. The *Patrika* was involved in a libel case for an article written by Raja Krishna Mitra, the Head Clerk of the Joint Magistrate, and a prosecution was launched against Sisir Kumar, Motilal, their uncle and printer of their paper, Chandranath Roy, and Raja

Krishna Mitra who had injudiciously revealed his identity. Despite the most rigorous cross-examination of young Motilal, the identity of the editor could not be established in court and the result of eight months' proceedings was that the printer was sentenced to six months and Raja Krishna Mitra to a year's simple imprisonment. Sisir Kumar was prosecuted again for withholding material evidence (the manuscript of Raja Krishna Mitra's article) but the prosecution failed. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* began publishing columns in English in 1869 and two years later the brothers reluctantly moved the paper to Calcutta (October 1871). For a time the paper did not come out as Sisir Kumar was negotiating the purchase of a printing machine for Rs. 600 and he had with him only half the amount. He was offered a loan by Raja Digambar Mitra but Sisir Kumar did not accept it. The next day, however, the gumasta of a zamindar came to Sisir Kumar asking him to arrange a loan of Rs. 60,000. This Sisir Kumar gladly undertook to do. He arranged the loan with the Raja and received Rs. 800 as brokerage from the zamindar's gumasta. The machine was purchased and the *Patrika* restarted in Calcutta in February 1872 as a bi-lingual weekly publishing comments and news items. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* lost considerable ground because it supported the income-tax bill against which leading Europeans and Indians expressed themselves strongly. Sisir Kumar refused to be persuaded or threatened into changing his attitude and in the debate in Parliament the *Patrika's* attitude was cited in its favour. After the bill became law the circulation of the paper had fallen so low that a circulation drive had to be undertaken. Dwarkanath Mitra, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, told Sisir Kumar: "I have subscribed to your paper. But I am afraid your writings are characterised by a virulence which may afterwards come to influence the masses and spread discontent and disaffection in the country". Sisir Kumar's reply was that the *Patrika* had been started to awaken the people to their abject condition and to infuse in them a sense of patriotism. "They are now more dead than alive," he contended, "and need to be roused from their slumber. Our language has, therefore, to be loud and penetrating." The *Patrika* held the centre of the stage so far as the Press was concerned for many years after, and it is still being published. The battles it fought and the storms it weathered will be dealt with as the narrative develops.

Reference has already been made to the change in the editorship of the *Bombay Times*. In 1861, the four newspapers, the *Bombay Times*, the *Courier*, the *Standard*, and the *Telegraph* were amalgamated under the new name of the *Times of India*. Three other Anglo-Indian newspapers, the *Pioneer* in Allahabad, the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, and the *Statesman* of Calcutta, were established during this period. A fourth paper, the *Madras Mail*, was the first evening paper in India. The *Hindu* followed soon after. Newspapers in the N.W. Provinces were coming into existence under the closest surveillance. A number of Urdu journals had ceased publication during the rebellion. Others came up in their place edited by Hindus. Censorship was rigid and an editor was thrown in prison in Peshawar and presses were confiscated at Sialkot and Multan. Nevertheless in 1861 there were besides one Missionary publication, 17 newspapers distributed as follows:

Urdu	11; and
Hindi	6

As many as 8 were published at Agra, two from Ajmer, two from Etawah and one each from Ludhiana, Meerut, Jaunpur, Saharanpur, Allahabad and Kanpur.

CHAPTER IX—REGISTRATION OF THE PRESS

The number of printing presses was growing throughout the country and books were being turned out in hundreds. Public interest in Government activity was stimulated by the passing of the India Councils Act of 1861 by which the Governor General's Council and the Governors' Councils at Madras and Bombay were enlarged by the addition of European members and the inclusion for the first time of Indian non-official members. Lord Canning took the opportunity of assigning a Department to each of his Councillors but the Indian non-official members of Council were there in a purely advisory capacity. All these developments called for comprehensive legislation regulating the working of printing presses and the various publications that were being turned out from them.

In 1867 an Act for the regulation of printing presses and newspapers, for the preservation of copies of books printed in British India, and for the registration of such books was passed to replace the Metcalfe Act No. XI of 1835. In this Act were incorporated all the provisions of the Metcalf Act which dealt with printing presses and newspapers. It later came to be known as the Press and Registration of Books Act after it was amended by Act X of 1890 and by Acts III and X of 1914, and was further modified in 1952 and 1953.

PRESS AND REGISTRATION OF BOOKS ACT, 1890

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the regulation of printing presses and of periodicals containing news, for the preservation of copies of every book printed or lithographed in British India, and for the registration of such books; It is hereby enacted as follows:

PART I

Preliminary

1. In this Act, unless there shall be something repugnant in the subject or context,—"book" includes every volume, part or division of a volume, and pamphlet, in any language, and every sheet of music, map, chart of plan separately printed or lithographed: "British India" means the territories which are or shall be vested in Her Majesty or Her successors by the Statute 21 and 22 Vict., cap. 106 (*An Act for the better Government of India*): "Magistrate" means any person exercising the full powers of a Magistrate, and includes a Magistrate of Police. And in every part of British India to which this Act shall extend, "Local Government" shall mean the person authorised by law to administer executive Government in such part, and includes a Chief Commissioner.

2. (Repeal of XI of 1835). Rep. Act XIV of 1870.

PART II

Of Printing Presses and Newspapers

3. Every book or paper printed within British India shall have printed legibly on it the name of the printer and the place of printing, and (if the book or paper be published) the name of the publisher and the place of publication.

4. No person shall, within British India, keep in his possession any press for the printing of books or papers, who shall not have made the subscribed the following declaration before the Magistrate within whose local jurisdiction such press may be.

"I. A. B., declare that I have a press for printing at——————", and this last blank shall be filled up with a true and precise description of the place where such press may be situate.

5. No printed periodical work, containing public news or comments on public news, shall be published in British India, except in conformity with the rules hereinafter laid down:

(1) The printer and the publisher of every such periodical work shall appear before the Magistrate within whose local jurisdiction such work shall be published, and shall make and subscribe, in duplicate, the following declaration:

"I, A.B., declare that I am the printer (*or* publisher, *or* printer and publisher) of the periodical work entitled——and printed (*or* published *or* printed and published, *as the case may be*) at ——————".

And the last blank in this form of declaration shall be filled up with true and precise account of the premises where the printing or publication is conducted:

(2) As often as the place of printing or publication is changed, a new declaration shall be necessary:

(3) As often as the printer or the publisher who shall have made such declaration as is aforesaid shall leave British India, a new declaration from a printer or publisher resident within the said territories shall be necessary.

6. Each of the two originals of every declaration so made and subscribed as is aforesaid, shall be authenticated by the signature and official seal of the Magistrate before whom the said declaration shall have been made.

One of the said originals shall be deposited among the records of the office of the Magistrate, and the other shall be deposited among the records of the High Court of Judicature, or other principal Civil Court of original jurisdiction for the place where the said declaration shall have been made. The officer in charge of each original shall allow any person to inspect that original on payment of a fee of one rupee, and shall give to any person applying a copy of the said declaration, attested by the seal of the Court which has the custody of the original, on payment of a fee of two rupees.

7. In any legal proceeding whatever, as well civil as criminal, the production of a copy of such declaration as is aforesaid, attested by the seal of some Court empowered by this Act to have the custody of such declarations, shall be held (unless the contrary be proved) to be sufficient evidence, as against the person whose name shall be subscribed to such declaration, that the said person was printer or publisher, or printer and publisher (according as the words of the said declaration may be) of every portion of every periodical work whereof the title shall correspond with the title of the periodical work mentioned in the declaration.

8. Provided always that any person who may have subscribed any such declaration as is aforesaid, and who may subsequently cease to be the printer or publisher of the periodical work mentioned in such declaration, may appear before any Magistrate, and make and subscribe in duplicate the following declaration:

"I, A.B., declare that I have ceased to be the printer (*or* publisher, *or* printer and publisher, of the periodical work entitled——————".

Each original of the latter declaration shall be authenticated by signature and seal of the Magistrate before whom the said latter declaration shall have been made, and one original of the said latter declaration shall be filed along with each original of the former declaration.

The officer in charge of each original of the latter declaration shall allow any person applying to inspect that original on payment of a fee of one rupee, and shall give to any person applying, a copy of the said latter declaration, attested by the seal of the Court having custody of the original, on payment of a fee of two rupees.

In all trials in which a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the former declaration shall have been put in evidence, it shall be lawful to put in evidence a copy, attested as is aforesaid, of the latter declaration, and the former declaration shall not be taken to be evidence that the declarant was, at any period subsequent to the date of the latter declaration printer or publisher of the periodical work therein mentioned.

PART III

Delivery of Books

9. Printed or lithographed copies of the whole of every book which shall be printed or lithographed in British India after this Act shall come into force, together with all maps, prints or other engravings belonging thereto, finished and coloured in the same manner as the best copies of the same, shall, notwithstanding any agreement (if the book be published) between the printer and publisher thereof, be delivered by the printer at such place and to such officer as the Local Government shall, by Notification in the official *Gazette*, from time to time direct, and free of expense to the Government, as follows, that is to say:

(a) in any case, within one calendar month after the day on which any such book shall first be delivered out of the press, one such copy, and,

(b) if within one calendar year from such day the Local Government shall require the printer to deliver other such copies not exceeding two in number, then within one calendar month after the day on which any such requisition shall be made by the local Government on the printer, another such copy, or two other such copies, as the Local Government may direct.

the copies so delivered being bound, sewed or stitched together and upon the best paper on which any copies of the book shall be printed or lithographed;

The publisher or other person employing the printer shall, at a reasonable time before the expiration of the said month, supply him with all maps, prints and engravings finished and coloured as aforesaid, which may be necessary to enable him to comply with the requirements aforesaid.

Nothing in the former part of this section shall apply to:

(i) any second or subsequent edition of a book in which edition no additions or alterations either in the letter press or in the maps, book prints or other engravings belonging to the book have been made, and a copy of the first or some preceding edition of which book has been delivered under this Act, or

(ii) any periodical work published in conformity with the rules laid down in section 5 of this Act.

10. The officer to whom a copy of a book is delivered under the last foregoing section shall give to the printer a receipt in writing therefor.

11. The copy delivered pursuant to clause (a) of the first paragraph of section 9 of this Act shall be disposed of as the Local Government shall from time to time determine. Any copy or copies delivered pursuant to clause (b) of the said paragraph shall be transmitted to the British Museum or the Secretary of State for India, or to the British Museum and the said Secretary of State, as the case may be.

PART IV.

Penalties

12. Whoever shall print or publish any book or paper otherwise than in conformity with the rule contained in section 3 of this Act shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or by simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or by both.

13. Whoever shall keep in his possession any such press as aforesaid, without making such a declaration as is required by section 4 of this Act, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or by simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or by both.

14. Any person who shall, in making any declaration under the authority of this Act, make a statement which is false, and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, shall on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

15. Whoever shall print or publish any such periodical work as is hereinbefore described without conforming to the rules hereinbefore laid down, or whoever shall print or publish, or shall cause to be printed or published, any such periodical work, knowing that the said rules have not been observed with respect to that work, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished with fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or both.

16. If any printer of any such book as is refered to in section 9 of this Act shall neglect to deliver copies of the same pursuant to that section, he shall for every such default forfeit to the Government such sum not exceeding fifty rupees as a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the book was printed may, on the application of the officer to whom the copies should have been delivered or of any person authorised by that officer in this behalf, determine to be in the circumstances a reasonable penalty for the default, and, in addition to such sum, such further sum as the Magistrate may determine to be the value of the copies which the printer ought to have delivered.

If any publisher or other person employing any such printer shall neglect to supply him, in the manner prescribed in the second paragraph of section 9 of this Act, with the maps, prints or engravings which may be necessary to enable him to comply with the provisions of that section, such publisher or other person shall for every such default forfeit to the Government such sum not exceeding fifty rupees as such a Magistrate as aforesaid may, on such an application as aforesaid, determine to be in the circumstances a reasonable penalty for the default, and, in addition to such sum, such further sum as the Magistrate may determine to be the value of the maps, prints or engravings which such publisher or other person ought to have supplied.

17. Any sum forfeited to the Government under the last foregoing section may be recovered, under the warant of the Magistrate determining the sum, or of his successor in office, in the manner authorised by the Code of Criminal Procedure for the time being in force, and within the period prescribed by the Indian Penal Code, for the levy of a fine.

All fines or forfeitures under this Part of this Act shall, when recovered, be disposed of as the Local Government shall from time to time direct.

PART V.

REGISTRATION OF BOOKS

18. There shall be kept at such office, and by such officer as the Local Government shall appoint in this behalf, a book to be called a Catalogue of Books printed in British India, wherein shall be registered a memorandum of every book which shall have been delivered (pursuant to clause (a) of

the first paragraph of section 9 of this Act). Such memorandum shall (so far as may be practicable) contain the following particulars (that is to say):

(1) the title of the book and the contents of the title-page, with a translation into English of such title and contents, when the same are not in the English language:

(2) the language in which the book is written:

(3) the name of the author, translator or editor of the book or any part thereof:

(4) the subject:

(5) the place of printing and the place of publication:

(6) the name or firm of the printer and the name or firm of the publisher:

(7) the date of issue from the press or of the publication:

(8) the number of sheets, leaves or pages:

(9) the size:

(10) the first, second or other number of the edition:

(11) the number of copies of which the edition consists:

(12) whether the book is printed or lithographed:

(13) the price at which the book is sold to the public: and

(14) the name and residence of the proprietor of the copyright or of any portion of such copyright.

Such memorandum shall be made and registered in the case of each book as soon as practicable after the delivery of the copy thereof pursuant to clause (a) of the first paragraph of section 9.

19. The memoranda registered during each quarter in the said Catalogue shall be published in the local *Gazette* as soon as may be after the end of such quarter, and a copy of the memoranda so published shall be sent to the said Secretary of State, and to the Government of India, respectively.

PART VI

Miscellaneous

20. The Local Government shall have power to make such rules as may be necessary or desirable for carrying out the objects of this Act and from time to time to repeal, alter and add to such rules. All such rules, and all repeals and alterations thereof, and additions thereto, shall be published in the local *Gazette*.

21. The Governor-General of India in Council may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, exclude any class of books from the operation of the whole or any part or parts of this Act.

22. (Continuance of Parts of Act). Rep. Act X of 1890 s.7.

23. (Commencement) Rep. Act XIV of 1870.

This was a purely regulating Act intended to keep Government informed of the activities of printing presses and was, in no sense, a restriction on printing presses or newspapers.

Three times during this period, 1860, 1864 and 1869, the proposal for the establishment of an official newspaper was mooted and turned down. On the first occasion it was suggested by the Rt. Hon'ble James Wilson who had been sent out to India to reorganise the chaotic finances of the Government; in 1864, by Sir John Lawrence who keenly resented the attacks made on him and on the Government by certain Indian newspapers; and in 1869 by Lord Mayo who discussed the question with the Secretary of

State for India, Sir Stafford Northcot—it is not improbable that it was Sir John Lawrence's proposal considered afresh. It is not perhaps altogether a coincidence that the *Pioneer* of Allahabad was established about this time (1865). It claimed to be first with the news and had among its regular paid contributors the most influential officials who kept the paper posted with vital decisions and actions of the Government before they were finalised or actually taken. It was for all practical purposes an official newspaper organised and conducted in a manner which could only have been possible with the full knowledge and consent of the highest authority. But more of this later.

Excepting the temporary restriction imposed on the press by Lord Canning in 1857-58 it functioned with a large measure of freedom from 1835 to 1870. In 1872, however, the problem presented itself afresh. Robert Knight who had consolidated the Bombay paper under the title of the *Times of India* left for England in 1864. He returned four years later but sold out his share in the *Times of India* owing to differences with his partner, Mathias Mull. He left Bombay for Calcutta where, in 1872, he started a monthly journal, the *Indian Economist.* Soon after, the Bengal Government appointed him Assistant Secretary in the Department of Agriculture and editor of an official journal, the *Agricultural Gazette of India.*

Towards the end of 1875, scarcity conditions prevailed in Bihar. Leading newspapers, both Indian and European, described it as a famine and urged on the Government the immediate need for organising relief measures. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika's* correspondent, Hemanta Kumar, visited the Bihar villages and reported that there was no famine but the usual scarcity caused by a fall in the normal out-turn of crops owing to natural causes. The Bengal Government, however, took a different view and spent some six crores of rupees on relief. At the time Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, favoured prohibition of the export of grain and Robert Knight supported him. The Governor-General, Lord Northbrook, and his Finance Member, Sir Richard Temple, disagreed with this view and Robert Knight attacked both of them. He was an official editing an official news journal and even the *Indian Economist* was subsidised. The subsidy was reduced and later withdrawn altogether and the two questions of freedom of the Press and the association of Government servants with newspapers were reopened.

On the freedom of the Press, Sir George Campbell expressed himself, in no uncertain terms, possibly because of the frequent attacks on him by the Indian Press generally and in particular by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika.* He repeated the earlier argument that a free Press and a despotic Government were incompatible, that newspapers were almost always against the Government and that there was no Press to answer them. He even went so far as to say that the law of libel was no remedy because a protracted trial gave the editor "all the notoriety that the most ambitious libeller could desire".

On the other point a notification was issued by the Home Department and published in the *Gazette of India* on July 8, 1875. It reserved to the Government the right to decide whether the association of officers with the Press was consistent with the discharge of their duties and imposed the following restrictions:

1. "No officer in the service of Government is permitted without the previous sanction, in writing, of the Government under which he immediately serves to become proprietor, either in whole or in part, of any newspaper or periodical publication, or to edit or manage any such newspaper or

publication. Such sanction will only be given in the case of newspapers or publications mainly devoted to the discussion of topics not of a political character, such for instance as art, science or literature. The sanction will be withdrawn at the discretion of the Government.

2. Officers in the service of Government are not prohibited from contributing to the public press; but their position makes it incumbent upon them to confine themselves within the limits of temperate and reasonable discussion, and they are prohibited from making public without the previous sanction of Government, any documents, papers, or information of which they may become possessed in their official capacity".

The trouble was for some time brewing and Robert Knight in anticipation of what was coming resigned in 1874 and in January 1875 had founded the *Statesman.* His own resources were substantial and he had the financial support of 24 merchants who took shares in the venture. Knight, however, had a great regard for the tradition and spirit which inspired the *Friend of India* published from Serampore by the Baptist Missionaries. He made every effort to acquire the paper but the negotiations were protracted and were not put through till April 1875 when he bought the journal for Rs. 30,000, and moved the paper to Calcutta. The two papers were published separately till 1877, the *Statesman* as a daily and the *Friend of India* as a weekly. The *Friend of India* was incorporated with the weekly overseas edition of the *Statesman* and for many years the daily paper was headed, "*The Statesman and Friend of India*". Robert Knight made no statement of policy when he started the *Statesman* wishing to establish that it had developed out of the traditions of the *Friend of India* and made that paper's traditions its own. In deference to the wishes of the founder, the *Statesman* to this day bears the legend, "incorporating and directly descended from the *Friend of India*—founded 1818". The *Statesman* sold for one anna as against four annas charged by the two existing Anglo-Indian newspapers—the *Indian Daily News* and the *Englishman.* Both were perturbed and their uneasiness grew as the *Statesman* established itself on the fearlessness and ability of the editor.

Meanwhile, the Government was becoming increasingly uneasy about the attitude of the press generally and its relations with the Government. It was particularly apprehensive of the Indian language Press as preparations for the rebellion of 1857 were made with the use of seemingly harmless words and symbols. As Government had to depend very largely on Indians to acquaint itself with the contents of Indian language newspapers, there was constant apprehension in the official mind that some nefarious traffic was under way through the medium of the Press. It will be recalled that Long, in his 1859 report, made the categorical assertion that if the North Western Provinces newspapers had been carefully studied in 1856-57, the rebellion could have been anticipated and prevented. Throughout the subsequent period it was repeatedly impressed on the local officials that a most careful watch should be kept on the Indian language Press and the complaint was frequently recorded that the annual reports submitted were inadequate and left much to be desired. The effect of all this was that a formidable document had been compiled of all the transgressions of the Indian language Press and it hung like a nightmare over the head of the officials.

CHAPTER X.—DISCRIMINATION BY LAW

In 1876, when Lord Lytton became the Viceroy he had before him the findings of Sir George Campbell who had instituted an inquiry into the state of the Indian-owned Press of Bengal three years earlier. He decided forthwith to invite opinions on improving relations between the Government and the Press. The traditional official opinion was in favour of restrictions. Robert Knight who was one of the persons consulted took the view that the attitude of the Press towards the Government derived directly from the attitude of the Government towards the Press. The Government he said, showed the Press no sympathy and did not wish even to appear to consult it. It withheld all information on subjects of current interest, showed no deference to public opinion and looked on the Press as factious and incapable of promoting the public good. He suggested that the Government should keep the Press informed of the course of its proceedings, the difficulties that embarrassed its course and its purposes and desires. He suggested the setting up of a Press Bureau with a Director whose business it should be to keep himself informed of the writings of every journal, answer enquiries from the Press and generally to maintain a constant and continuing relationship.

The only other person to support this point of view was Arthur Hobhouse:

"Neither knowledge nor freedom of speech be acquired without some unpleasant excesses. We have chosen the generous. I think the wise, policy of encouraging both, and we ought not to be frightened because some of the symptoms appear. People who increase their knowledge are sure to be discontented, unless their power increases too, and will probably be impatient to acquire that power; and people who have newly acquired freedom of speech are likely at times to use their tongues without discretion. All that we must take as the drawback necessarily attendent on the benefit of having a more intelligent and less reticent people in India".

Defence of freedom of the Press was fervent and based on principle. The attacks on it were specific and related to writings in the Indian language Press, a formidable dossier of which had been prepared and placed before Lord Lytton. Among the members of his Council were strong supporters of some form of restriction, notably Sir Alexander Arbuthnot and Sir Ashley Eden, who was then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. His predecessor, Sir George Campbell, had left behind his strongly worded opinion that a more effective law was needed than that which then existed (*viz.*, Act XXV of 1857, and Section 124A of the Penal Code, as amended by Act XXVII of 1870). The Provincial Governments were consulted and they were all agreed, with one exception (Madras). The case against the Vernacular Press Act is ably summed up by Sir W. Robinson, Member of the Madras Governor's Council, in a minute which he recorded on the subject (Appendix I), that a special law for the control of the Indian language Press was not an immediate need.

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Ground was prepared for the legislation to be enacted by the circulation of selected excerpts collected over a period of 15 years, to important officials in India and England and to the Press in Britain. A Bill was drafted and a summary of it was telegraphed to the Secretary of State and his approval obtained. All these preparations could not be made without the Indian Press coming to know of what was in store for them. Surendranath Bannerjea who wrote that the new Act had come upon the community as a bolt from the blue admitted that something of the kind had long been anticipated. He attended the Delhi Assemblage of 1877 as a correspondent of the *Hindu Patriot*. In Delhi, he organised a Press Association consisting of all members of the Indian Press and organised a deputation to wait upon the Viceroy with an address. He led the deputation and the address which he read out contained pointed reference to the coming restrictions and expressed the hope that the freedom of the Press would not be impaired. The Viceroy in his reply made no reference to this subject.

In the following year, the Vernacular Press Bill was introduced in the Governor-General's Council and passed as Act IX of 1878. Briefly its objects were to place newspapers published in the languages of India under "better control", and to furnish the Government with more effective means than the existing law provided of punishing and repressing seditious writing calculated to produce disaffection towards the Government in the minds of the ignorant population. It was also claimed to be intended to prevent unscrupulous writers from using their papers as a means of intimidation and extortion. Although the Bill was introduced by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, was the figure round whom there was a storm of controversy. It will be remembered that the chief grievance of the European community in India against Lord Canning was that he refused to discriminate between "the disloyal native" and "the loyal British" in the Press Act and the Arms Act of 1857. The grievance figured prominently in the memorial presented to the Queen for his recall.

When Robert Knight was consulted on the question of relations between the Government and the Press he made no comment on the subject of the Indian language Press. The *Statesman* of May 2, 1881, reviewing the administration of Lord Lytton, commented as follows:—

"In the height of his career, it will be remembered that he heroically gagged the Vernacular Press of India. The Bill for carrying this measure was brought into Council by Sir Ashley Eden, who openly expressed his regret on the occasion, that the English Press was not to be silenced simultaneously. The remark was levelled mainly, we believe, at this journal (*The Statesman and Friend of India*, Calcutta), indeed, we were specially referred to by name, in the papers laid before the Council......

If Lord Lytton had dared take the step Sir Ashley Eden's Bill would have suppressed the *Statesman* and every English paper in the country that questioned the morality of what was being done, and the general course of our rule...........

And it was a demoralised and scandalous rule of this order, that naturally came forward to "gag" the Press. He who runs may here read, if he chooses, what a Tory Administration really means. Sir Ashley Eden's discreditable measure was brouhgt suddenly before the Council, and passed through all its stages at a single sitting. And Lord Lytton dare stand up in the House of Lords, to defend his administration, relying upon the Tory ranks behind him to bear him unblushingly through. Lord Hartington true to the principles of enlightened rule, is following up his reversal of Lord Lytton's infamous Afghan policy, by setting the Press of India free from the fetters which that most frivolous ruler and his willing tools imposed thereon."

Motilal Ghose's version of the circumstances in which the Act was passed is also relevant:

"An autocrat of autocrats, Sir Ashley sought to rule Bengal with an iron hand. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was, however, a thorn in his side. He, therefore, conceived the idea of winning over Babu Shishir Kumar partly by kindness and partly by threats. He had managed to make Babu Kristo Das Pal, Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* his ardent admirer, and his next move was to entrap and muzzle Shishir Kumar Ghose. So, Sir Ashley sent for him one day, gave him a cordial reception when he came, and offered him a 'share of the Government' if he would follow his advice. Here is the purport of what His Honour proposed:—

'Let us three, I, you and Kristo Das—govern the province. Kristo Das has agreed to conduct his paper according to my direction. You will have to do the same thing. I shall contribute to your paper as I do to the *Hindoo Patriot*. And when you write an article criticising the Government, you will have to submit the manuscript to me before publication. In return the Government will subscribe to a considerable number of your paper, and I shall consult you as I consult Kristo Das in carrying on the administration of the Province.

Babu Shishir Kumar was at the time a poor man. His position in Calcutta society was not high. The tempting offer came from the ruler of the province. Many other men in his circumstances would have succumbed to his temptation. But he was made of a different stuff. He resisted and did something more. He thanked His Honour for his generous offer, but also quietly remarked, your honour there ought to be at least one honest journalist in the land. The expected result followed. Sir Ashley flew into an unconquerable rage. With scathing sarcasm he told Babu Shishir Kumar that he had forgotten to whom he was speaking, that as supreme authority in the province he could put him in jail any day he liked for seditious writings in his paper, and that he would drive him back to Jessore bag and baggage from where he came in six months. It was not a vain threat. The Vernacular Press Act owed its origin to this incident. It was to take his revenge on Babu Shishir Kumar that Sir Ashley Eden persuaded Lord Lytton to pass this monstrous measure at one sitting. The blow was aimed mainly at the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which was then an Anglo-Vernacular paper and fell within the scope of the Act. But Babu Shishir Kumar and his brothers were too clever for Sir Ashley. Before the Act was put in force they brought out their paper in wholly English garb and thus circumvented the Act and snapped their fingers at the Lieutenant Governor; for, a journal conducted in the English language was beyond the jurisdiction of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act. Sir Ashley was a very outspoken man and he did not conceal his chagrin and bitter disappointment at the escape of the *Patrika* from several of his Bengali friends. He told them that if there had been only one week's delay on the part of the proprietors to convert the *Patrika* into English, he would have dealt a deadly blow at it by demanding a heavy bail-bond from them".

Sir Ashley Eden's speech in the Legislative Council does not support the *Statesman's* interpretation of his intentions. It suggestes, however, that Motilal Ghose's reading of Sir Ashley Eden's intentions was substantially correct and that the Bill was aimed at the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as one of the papers which indulged in sedition. Sir Ashley Eden said:—

"What Government does object to is the sedition and gross disloyalty of some of the Vernacular papers, and their attempts to sow the seeds of disaffection to the British rule in the minds of ignorant people.

There have been laid before the Government extracts from the vernacular papers which establish the constant use of language of this description, and show that they habitually attack and misrepresent the Government, under which they live in peace and prosperity, in terms intended to weaken the authority of Government, and with a reckless disregard of truth and fact which would not be tolerated in any country in the world. The writings to which I allude have nothing to do with personal attacks. The personal abuse, the falsehoods, the scurrility and the exaggerations

which are applied to individual officers may well, as heretofore, be left to the ordinary action of the law Courts, or be treated with the contempt they deserve. But it has been prominently stated that even this practical irresponsibility for personal abuse is a public mischief, and is used for the purpose of extorting money or frightening timid subordinates from a proper discharge of their duties. But it is not on this ground that I desire to support this measure. What I do recognise, and long have recognised, as a fact, is, that the licentiousness of the Press has, under false ideas of freedom and independence, been allowed to reach a stage which promptly calls, in the interests of the public at large, for the interference of the Legislature.

I entirely agree with the Hon'ble Mover of the Bill in thinking that the whole of the vernacular Press is not open to these charges. I believe with him that there are many such papers conducted by respectable men on excellent principles; but the law proposed cannot injure them. If papers do not write sedition, or endeavour to incite disaffection towards the Government, or endeavour to extort money by intimidation, their position will be no worse when this Bill has become law than it was before. If they do publish matter of this objectionable character, then it is the plain duty of Government to interfere with them in the interests of the public, and I am sure that the public will have no sympathy with them.

I can quite understand that the Government of India has, as the Hon'ble Mover of the Bill has stated, felt some difficulty in applying a measure of this sort to a portion of the Press and exempting another portion. But the difficulty, it seems to me, is imaginary rather than real. The papers published in this country in the English language are written by a class of writers for a class of readers whose education and interests would make them naturally intolerant of sedition; they are written under a sense of responsibility and under a restraint of public opinion which do not and cannot exist in the case of the ordinary Native newspapers. It is quite easy and practicable to draw a distinction between papers published in English and papers published in the vernacular, and it is a distinction which really meets all the requirements of the case, and should not be disregarded merely because some evil disposed persons may choose to say that Government has desired to show undue favour to papers written in the language of the ruling power.

The Press must be treated on its own merits. Had the English Press of India been in style and tone what it was 20 years ago, I for my part should have had no hesitation in voting for its inclusion in the present Bill. But I know nothing that has improved more of late years than the tone of the Anglo-Indian Press. It no doubt attacks Government measures and Government officials, and often very undeservedly; but, as I have said before, it is not this sort of criticism to which Government objects or desires to control. On the whole the English Press of India, whether conducted by Europeans or Natives, bears evidence of being influenced by a proper sense of responsibility and by a general desire to discuss public events in a moderate and reasonable spirit. There is no occasion to subject that Press to restraint, and therefore, naturally enough, it is exempted. It would be a sign of great weakness on the part of Government to bring it within the scope of this measure merely to meet a possible charge of partiality. If it should ever happen that the Anglo-Indian Press should adopt a tone calculated to excite feelings of disaffection to the British rule, I shall be amongst the first to ask for its inclusion in a law of this sort".

There was a basic flaw in Sir Ashley Eden's argument. He admitted that there were many papers published in the Indian languages which were conducted by respectable men on excellent principles but he argued that the Law proposed could not injure them. By admitting this he acknowledged that the discrimination between the Vernacular Press and the English Press was not a just one. If it was considered that restrictions were at all necessary the obvious course was to legislate for all newspapers in the knowledge that those papers which discuss public events in a moderate and reasonable spirit would not come within the purview of the law. It has already been shown in an earlier chapter that the Adam Licensing Regulation of 1823, was not applied to the Anglo-Indian Press and was, for all practical pur-

poses, intended to curb the Indian language Press. It may be mentioned here that, at this time the Arms Act too was amended on the same discriminatory basis. In short Lord Lytton conceded two points on which Lord Canning in 1857 had refused to yield.

The Vernacular Press Act was comprehensive and rigorous. It empowered any Magistrate of a District, or a Commissioner of Police in a Presidency town to call upon the printer and publisher of a newspaper to enter into a bond undertaking not to publish certain kind of material, to demand security and to forfeit if it was thought fit, such presses and confiscate any printed matter as it deemed objectionable. No printer or publisher against whom such action had been taken could have recourse to a Court of Law. A provision in the Bill which exempted Vernacular newspapers from the operations of the Act if the printers submitted advance proofs of the paper to a Government officer was objected to by the then Secretary of State, Lord Cranbrook (who had replaced Lord Salisbury who had earlier approved of the Bill) and deleted in a subsequent enactment seven months after the original Act had been in operation. At this stage Lord Lytton expressed the desire of the Government to "keep the Press fully and impartially furnished with accurate current information in reference to such measures or intentions on the part of the Government as are susceptible of immediate publication without injury to the interests for which the Government is responsible". This was in acceptance of the advice tendered by Robert Knight. C. E. Buckland was temporarily appointed Press Commissioner. During his tenure of office, proceedings were instituted against the *Som Prakash* for publishing seditious matters and a bond was demanded from the printer. The action was taken by the Magistrate of the 24 Parganas under orders of the Bengal Government acting on the instructions of the Government of India. The printer executed the bond but soon after the paper ceased publication and in its place was started the *Navabibhakar.* Permission to revive the *Som Prakash* was sought and granted in 1879 and the editor gave an undertaking for its future good conduct. Later the two papers were published from separate presses with separate management and establishment. There were no prosecutions as such and Buckland records that the tone of the Indian language Press perceptibly improved without any diminution of free, fair, honest criticism. Buckland'd estimate of the Press in the two years that followed is of interest as representing the point of view which favoured the Vernacular Press Act:—

"The next year, 1880, it was noticed that, although some improvement had taken place in the style and language of the vernacular newspapers since the introduction of the Vernacular Press Act, their general tone was one of opposition to Government and Government measures. They never hesitated to impute unworthy motives to Government and were full of personalities regarding Government servants. They, however, generally preluded their remarks by expatiating on their individual loyalty, and complaining of the passing of the Act. The leading organs of the Press were naturally found in Calcutta. They were altogether wanting in originality and habitually followed the English Press and borrowed largely from it. A new feature in their columns was the amount of attention and space devoted to matters connected with English politics. The virulence of party controversy at home, as reproduced in many organs of the English Press, afforded much congenial matter to the Native papers in Bengal.

"But in 1880 the Government was changed in England: Mr. Gladstone, who had denounced the Vernacular Press Act, came into power and the new Governor-General, the Marquis of Ripon, had (it was understood) instructions to repeal the Act. The contemplated repeal was anxiously looked forward to by the Native Press, and was generally attributed to the agitation that had been maintained. The Acts were accordingly repealed by Act III

of 1882, which retained power to the Post office authorities to search for and seize any vernacular publications of a seditious nature, the importation of which had been prohibited under the Sea Customs Act, 1878. For some years no further action was taken in Bengal towards the vernacular Press. The repeal of the special Act left Government and individuals no other remedy against seditious and otherwise objectionable writings but recourse to the ordinary criminal law, viz., section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, which had previously been considered unworkable.

"The proceedings taken in 1891 against the *Bangabasi* newspaper will be found in another chapter. It came to be generally admitted by Government that the law was in an unsatisfactory state: and a bitter feeling obtained among officials that they were denied proper and reasonable protection against immoderate Press criticism. Certain disastrous occurrences in another part of India practically forced the hand of Government, and legislation was undertaken to amend the difficult, if not unworkable, Section 124A, of the Penal Code, Act IV of 1898 repealed that section and substituted a new one, to deal with "Sedition"; it inserted a new section 153A, in the Code, to punish "promoting enmity between classes"; and it substituted a new section 505, to punish "statements conducting to public mischief". The preventive procedure of the Act of 1878 was abandoned, and all journals, English and Native alike, are now subject to the same law, and must be dealt with by the ordinary tribunals".

Roper Lethbridge who succeeded Buckland, held other views about the post. He was a professor in the Bengal Education Service who was allowed in his spare time to edit the *Calcutta Review* and write leading articles for the *Englishman* and the *Friend of India,* the *Pioneer* and the *Times of India.* When George Smith was about to retire from the editorship of the *Friend of India* and the correspondentship of the *London Times* it was suggested that Lethbridge should take up these two appointments, "thus providing a link between the Government of India and the English Press both in India and at home". Writing of this proposed arrangement which evidently did not come off, Lethbridge expressed the view that if it had and if the functions of the Press Commissioner in regard to the Indian language Press had been added to it, there would have been no need for the Vernacular Press Act. Explaining the functions of the Press Commissioner, Lethbridge said that he was to represent the Government with the Press, both English and Indian, and added:

"He was to be the exponent to the whole Press of the inner meaning of the Government policy—a very necessary function at a time when there was no right of interpellation in the Legislative Councils. And he was to be the 'whippingboy' for the Government with the Press—every editor having the right to interview or write to the Press Commissioner, to make complaints, to verify facts, and to obtain an authoritative statement of the Government's policy. And, incidentally, the Press Commissioner was to have certain restrictive powers over those vernacular editors who chose to misrepresent his facts or his statements of Government policy—powers only to be exercised under the control and with the formal sanction, *first* of the Local Government, and *secondly,* of the Government of India. Nothing could be fairer than this. I think that Lord Lytton's plan was better than Sir George Campbell's in that it was perfectly open and above-board. The Press Commissionership itself, with its duties of reference and instructions, was immensely popular with the whole vernacular Press—as was shown by the fact that when, in 1881, its abolition was decreed by Lord Ripon, as if it were a necessary consequence of the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, a petition for its retention, that was organised by Rajakristo Das Pal of the *Hindoo Patriot* and Babu Norendro Nath Sen of the *Indian Mirror,* was signed and warmly supported by every vernacular editor throughout India except three; I still possess a copy of that petition with all its signatures, which I highly value as a certificate of good conduct".

Lethbridge's view was that he had done a good job and had enjoyed doing it. Although he deplored the abolition of the Press Commissionership,

he did not regret the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act. It was his view that the 1887 Act should have been preceded by the creation of the Press commissionership for the better information and guidance of the Indian language Press and set forth the rights and privileges conferred on Indian language editors, "noting, in brief and non-irritating clauses, the correctional power that the Press Commissioner would possess in the rare case of the abuse of the rights and privileges". He complained that the Press Commissioner was never given a fair chance and that ignorant criticism in England sealed his doom.

There were other views about the purpose with which the Press Commissionership was created and its usefulness. For some reason the *Statesman* did not take kindly either to the office or to its incumbent or to his work. In 1878, Robert Knight went to England to found the weekly *London Indian Statesman*. During his absence William Riach edited the *Statesman* in India. Riach in an article contributed to the first issue of the monthly *London Statesman* into which the weekly had been converted in 1881 for reasons of economy, wrote disparagingly of the Press Commissionership. He maintained that the post was created to improve the relations between the Government and the Anglo-Indian Press and that the connection with the Indian language Press was an afterthought. According to him the communiques issued by the Press Commissioner were untrustworthy and when they were criticised in the Anglo-Indian Press it was explained that the Press Commissioner had been appointed for the Indian language Press.

To establish the point that even in this capacity the Press Commissioner served no useful purpose, Riach published an analysis of a questionnaire which he had issued to the editors of Indian language papers in Bengal. About half the number of editors (17) replied to the questionnaire. Thirteen said that they had received no official information from the Press Commissioner; eleven replied that they had never approached the Press Commissioner for information. A newspaper which asked for the regular supply of information was told that it had not been long enough established. Another which suggested that the Press Commissioner should supply news to the Vernacular Press as well as the English Press was advised by the Press Commissioner to apply to the Government. Four newspapers received no answer to their application for material. Seven papers stated that they had received no communication from the Press Commissioner at all while four complained that the material received from him was useless. One newspaper was sent a copy of the Vernacular Press Act drawing its attention to its provisions, and some were informed that they could send telegrams to the Press Commissioner at concession rates. All the 17 editors declared that they had not been informed that the duties of the Press Commissioner were to superintend the working of the Vernacular Press Act and to act as a medium of communication between the Indian language Press and the Government, though 10 out of the 17 said that the Commissioner received copies of their papers. One editor wrote:

"I regret that the attitude of the present Government of India towards the native Press specially the vernacular portion of it is decidedly hostile. In all divisional reports special mention is made of Native journals. It is an almost invariable practice to say that they are either insignificant, having no influence with the people or conducted by a set of agitators. It seems as if the Government is resolved to draw a line of demarcation between the journals and the community"

The same issue of the *Statesman* publishes a letter ascribed to "one of the ablest civilians in India" which reads:

"The more I see of the native press the more I am astonished at the assertion of the *Times* that a new era of loyalty has been introduced by the Press Act. You remember Mr. Lethbridge's letter to the *Times* quoting extensively from vernacular newspapers and showing that dozens of passage of the most approved sentiments could be culled from their columns, I happened to know as a fact that Mr. Lethbridge, if he had wished to do so, could have collected a series of passages from the same press of writings after the Act and expressive of anything but what does the fashion to call loyalty. Perhaps it would be unfair to name newspapers but the fact is that in spite of the Press Act the "disloyal" papers remain as disloyal as they were. They are less outspoken; but the spirit is just the same as before. It may be an advantage to have repressed their outspokenness; but it is misleading and foolish to assume that the Act has changed "disloyalty" into "loyalty". This reference is to vernacular papers published in British India. If you want to have a fair information of the spirit and tone of the native press, the newspapers of the Nizam's dominion will do very well as an example. They are most strongly condemnatory of the Afghan war and the policy which led to it and of the whole present policy of England towards Mussulman States than anything I have ever read in the vernacular press up to the present time. Of course Hyderabad is a focus of Mohamedanism but that does not weaken the force of the argument that it is a great mistake to suppose that by shutting the mouths of vernacular newspapers you can transform their spirit".

When the Press Commissionership was abolished with the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act by Lord Ripon, a representation signed by 124 newspaper editors was made to the Viceroy urging the continuance of the office. It was contended that with the material supplied by the Press Commissioner, the Indian language Press was in a position to discuss actual facts instead of giving currency to and commenting on bazaar rumours. Lord Ripon was not, however, impressed by the representation and the post was abolished with the promise that other arrangements would be made to make information available to the Press on Government policies and activities. Three newspapers which did not associate themselves with the representation were the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, the *Statesman* of Calcutta, and the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore. Lethbridge hints broadly that these newspapers did not favour the Press Commissioner system because they had their own sources of information (officials at the highest level) and were not happy at the prospect of their monopoly being broken. Reference has already been made to the *Pioneer* and the *Civil & Military Gazette* being organised and run for all practical purposes as Government newspapers. Lethbridge's observations on this point reveal how totally official one of these publication (the *Pioneer*) was. It also illustrates how the condition that Government officials should not own or contribute to the Press was completely ignored. He claimed that he had in his possession a number of letters received from the editors of Anglo-Indian newspapers which had a bearing on the subject and added:

"The great difficulty was, of course, as Mr. Ratcliffe indicates, the serious injury done to the *Pioneer*. My old friend, Sir George Allen, had spent enormous sums in building up that great paper, and paid most princely fees to large number of highly placed officials as contributors in every Simla Department with the consequence that every impending official change of every sort and kind was for a long time always announced first in the *Pioneer*. Every official in India was interested in these announcements, which I suppose were worth to the *Pioneer* and its highly paid contributors many tens of thousands of pounds annually. Naturally enough, not only Sir George himself, but also many of his contributors, were indignant at the prospect of losing this favoured position—and this was a great difficulty that had to be faced by those who favoured a more diffused system of information".

P.P. 9966.

THE INDIAN REFORMER.

BRITISH MUSEUM

(PUBLISHED TWICE A MONTH)

No. 1.] SERAMPORE: JANUARY 10, 1861. [VOL. I.

OURSELVES.—After what we said in the Prospectus published sometime ago, it is hardly necessary to dwell at large on the principles on which this journal will be conducted; but as some misconceptions on the subject exist in certain quarters, we deem it a duty we owe to ourselves and the public, briefly to allude to them in this the first issue of our periodical.

In the Prospectus we said, that we are "content with the position which an all-wise Providence has meanwhile assigned to our country in the community of nations, and anxious, at the same time, to see our countrymen elevated to a higher platform of social existence." It has been inferred from this statement, that we are devoid of those aspirations which have animated the hearts of patriots of every age and country. Now, without pretending to the proud distinction of a patriot, we humbly declare that we have as ardent longings after national liberty as any of our countrymen can have. But we hold that, in the present state of things—with our present physical weakness, we are utterly incapable of national liberty. We entirely agree with the sentiments expressed in a late admirable article of the *Bombay Times* suggested by the Prospectus of this our humble periodical. Trodden down by centuries of Moslem oppression, we have become a spiritless nation. Were England to leave us to-morrow, we could not for a single day defend ourselves from foreign aggression. We should fall an easy prey to the less civilized but more powerful races that surround us, be torn to pieces by the eagle of France, or crushed by the Colossus of the North. Hence we regard it a most felicitous circumstance—a circumstance for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful to Him who holds the empires of the earth in the hollow of His hands—that India is connected with England. England has a mission in India which she shall yet fulfil. Under the fostering care of England, India shall yet renew her youth, and be nobler and more beautiful than she ever was.

We stated in the Prospectus that we "repudiate, as altogether unmanly, all feelings of antagonism towards the dominant race." From this it has been inferred, we know not by what sublime flight of fancy, that we mean servilely to flatter, and obsequiously to cringe to, our European fellow-subjects. We hope, in the course of our editorial career, to show to our readers that we flatter no man. It is a simple fact, however, that for sometime past there has been no good understanding between Her Majesty's European and native subjects. To whatever source this misunderstanding may be ascribed—whether to the unguarded expressions of some of our own countrymen, or the equally unguarded effusions of our influential fellow townsman, the *Friend of India*,—certain it is that a sort of antagonistic feeling between natives and Europeans has for sometime existed, and does to some extent exist now. In the Prospectus we meant to say—and we do say it now—that we have not the remotest sympathy with that feeling, in whatever quarter it exists, whether European or Native. We condemn the bad taste and worse spirit of our countryman the *Hindoo Patriot*, who is everlastingly cracking feeble jokes at the expense of the non-official portion of the Anglo-Indian community, and thereby widening that breach which it should be the endeavour of every right-hearted European and native to close up; nor can we help expressing our detestation of the savage editorials which now and then disgrace the columns of the *Englishman*. For ourselves, even at the risk of being put down as 'dull and respectable,' and of being considered as unpatriotic, we shall guard ourselves with a holy jealousy, and conscientiously refrain from the use of expressions calculated to do no imaginable good, but only to irritate. As Indian Reformers, we shall endeavour, with the blessing of the Almighty, to break down that middle wall of partition which has so long separated the two classes of Her Majesty's subjects from each other, and to produce feelings of amity between them, remembering who hath said, "Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

We said in the Prospectus, that this was not to be a religious periodical, and yet that it should be conducted on decidedly Christian principles. From these apparently conflicting statements it has been supposed by some, that we shall never write on religious subjects, and by others that it is to be a purely religious journal. Both suppositions are equally wide of the truth. This journal is to be no more political than it is to be religious, and no more religious than it is to be political. Having no sympathy, on the one hand, with the squeamishness of those journalists who abstain from all religious discussions, and, on the other, with the fastidiousness of those other journalists who shun all secular subjects, we purpose to blend the secular with the religious, to marry the human to the divine. Whether the existing secular journals, managed by Europeans in this country, are conducted on Christian principles or not, it is not for us to determine. We judge no man. For ourselves, we shall endeavour to be guided in our discussions by the two cardinal principles of the Gospel—purity and charity.

The Indian Reformer: Serampore, January 10, 1861

The Times of India.

IN WHICH THE "BOMBAY TIMES" AND "BOMBAY STANDARD" ARE INCORPORATED.

VOL. XXIV. NEW SERIES. BOMBAY: SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1861. No. 118

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS.

PASSAGE TO ENGLAND

TO LET

FOR SALE BY PUBLIC AUCTION.

CHINA DEPOT.

Wanted.

PASSAGE OVERLAND.

Notices.

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

MR. THOMAS EDWARDS, GUNMAKER,

NOTICE TO CONTRACTORS.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

THIRD DIVISION OF PROFITS.

To-day will be Published,

No. VII. OF

THE BOMBAY SATURDAY REVIEW.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

SPECIMENS OF THE TEMPLES AND PALACES OF THE DECCAN.

DENTAL SURGERY.

THE CAVES OF KARLEE.

IMPERIAL HOTEL (FOR FAMILIES AND GENTLEMEN)

THE DAY'S BILL OF FARE.

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AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY OF INDIA.

PRIZE

COMPAGNIE PARISIENNE.

NOTICE OF REMOVAL

PHOTOGRAPHIC CHEMICALS, APPARATUS, AND LENSES.

ST. ANDREW'S LIBRARY, BOMBAY.

The Times of India: Bombay, May 18, 1861

P.P.9958.t.

THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY.

Vol. 1.] [No. 1.

Price for the Post Edition, Rs. 24-4 yearly, if paid in advance, or Rs. 2-12 monthly.

CALCUTTA, 10TH JULY, 1861.

Price for the Town Edition, Rs. 29 per annum, if paid in advance, or Rs. 2-8 monthly.

THE INDIAN EMPIRE.—We last week circulated an apology for our non-appearance on the advertised date; and for the article we then published, commenting very briefly on the past, present, and probable future of India, and declaring some of the principal objects with which this Journal was started, we must refer the reader, who has not yet seen it, to the last two pages of this issue. We believe the manifesto was sufficiently full and explicit for the purpose it was intended to serve, and with this we leave it to the public; it is the chart and compass by which we shall steer, and as it must be a long voyage indeed before all our ports are reached, we hope the public will insure us.

THE PLANTERS' MISSING FEATHER-BED.—Sympathy is never refused to men who suffer from the downfal of a system which they did not originate. In some instances popular feeling goes even beyond this, and lays it down as a maxim that when theories explode, or important interests suffer from innovation and changes, which the spirit of the age renders imperative, the rights and privileges of individuals shall remain uninjured and unassailed. This is at once gracefully conceded to the officers of an army, which has reeled, shattered, and sundered under its death-blow. It is not denied by the fiercest antagonists of the monopoly of the Civil Service. It would at once be given up even in the case of an over-fed Ecclesiastical corporation, and it will be our business to apply it to the case of the Indigo Planters of Lower Bengal, whose trade has received a blow, after which we believe it to be no more likely to recover its former footing, than the Bengal army is likely to rise and obliterate the effects of the Mutiny, or the Civil Service to cancel the first vital changes of the Charter of 1853.

In all circles not under the domination of a wild, irrational clamour on the subject, we believe the state of feeling, on the downfal of the Bengal Planters, to be somewhat as follows.—The system of ryotti cultivation, with all its faults and anomalies, was inherited by the present race of men, without question, from their ancestors. They had nothing to do but take it with its deficiencies, and work it in a manner to excite as little hostility, and as much co-operation, on the part of the ryot, as in the nature of things was possible. That some of the Planters effected this object by the aid of tact, experience, and knowledge of the natives; that they triumphed over the ill-will naturally engendered by a cultivation almost traditional in its origin, forced in its present aspect, and always ruinous in its results: that they carried on their operations, without violent breaches of the peace, and without active hostility to the constituted authorities: is admitted even by those who wage war with bad principles, and who desire to compass the annihilation of unsound measures, and not the ruin of unoffending men. The crash of 1860, had it not been for the Sonthal rebellion, or for the great Mutiny, might have been the crash of 1856 or 1858. No human power could much longer have upheld a fabric which was unsupported by the two great principles of mutual dependance and mutual profit that must underlie every successful transaction throughout the whole world of commerce. But, while a corrupt and baseless system was tottering to its doom, every thing possible should have been done to aid and rescue the survivors in the ruin. No hasty interference should have precipitated the fall. The descent should have been made easy by the kind interposition of the executive, and, where possible with due regard for the rights of others, by the authoritative sanction of the law. No song of triumph, no proclamation in the name of appeased Justice, should have sounded in the ears of the Planters. The largest sympathy, the most dexterous palliatives, all the aids and expedients which the hand of authority could furnish, were their's by every principle of equity, and by all the precedents of social and commercial ethics, which can be applied to such cases. As the phrase runs, they should have been let down easily; and like a garrison capitulating after a stout defence in the face of overwhelming numbers, with all the honors of war.

It is really worth while to examine carefully into the validity of the above plea. Unreasoning clamour, reckless and rancorous abuse, unscrupulous misrepresentation of motives and actions, reiteration of the same trashy arguments which have been overthrown scores of times, do not require from us a moment's attention. But it may be a subject of calm and dispassionate enquiry whether the conduct of a great Government was marked towards an influential but unfortunate body of men, by all the tact, delicacy, and forbearance which the occasion required; whether all the remedies which might protract dissolution were applied in good faith and in good time; and whether the sick man received that kindness and attention which he might expect, under an accumulation of disorders in his constitution, which no great imprudence on his part had either originated or increased.

In the first place, we must take the liberty of reminding society in general, and the Planters in particular, that, just one year ago, no body of men ever less thought of dissolution, or talked of styptics, and palliatives, and mild restoratives, than did the Indigo Planters of Bengal. They gloried in the prospect of a Commission. They wished to meet their enemies face to face. They had nothing to confess, or little to amend. So confident were they in their might, so collected in their resources that like Hyder Ali about to rush down on the Carnatic, they made no secret at all of their resolution; on the contrary, without the least provocation, in violation alike of every canon of good taste and prudence, and with their real position wholly unascertained, they made a gratuitous and fierce attack on the Government of Bengal of which the loose facts, unwarrantable assumptions, and extravagant demands, were utterly annihilated by the deadly precision of Mr. Grant's artillery. Returning again and again to a conflict, which none but themselves had provoked, they

The Indian Empire: Calcutta, July 10, 1861

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NOTICE.

All communications of a literary character to be addressed to the Editor of the INDIAN MIRROR, *No.* 10, *Weston's Lane.*

Remittances and other business communications to be forwarded to the Managing Proprietor, at the above address.

It is particularly requested, that letters from the Mofussil containing remittances be registered, to ensure safe arrival.

OVERLAND MAIL.

THE Overland Mail, per Steamer *Nemesis*, will be closed on Thursday, the 8th proximo, at 6 P. M.

Letters for Madras, Ceylon, Mauritius, and Australia can be sent by this opportunity.

W. H. McGOWAN,
Post Master of Calcutta

CAL. POST OFFICE, }
The 23rd July, 1861. }

THE INDIAN MIRROR.—The Prospectus of this journal was submitted to the public only a fortnight ago. It was not expected that we should be able to appear within so short a time, but as many of our readers have been reluctant to subscribe before the first number appeared, we have deemed it proper not to delay any longer. We have been consequently induced to make our humble appearance this day before the reading world.

The principles on which this journal will be conducted have been already briefly stated in our prospectus and need hardly be recapitulated here. The *Mirror* is intended for all classes and communities; it will reflect faithfully (so far as the abilities of its faculty will permit) the condition of this country in its manifold varieties; advocate political and social, as well as religious and moral reforms, while its mild and catholic tone will, it is hoped, not fail to render it acceptable to all classes and communities. It will cordially support every right attempt at improvement and reformation, while wrong-doers and oppressors will be *openly* and *steadily* opposed. It will favor not parties and fear not antogonists, but tell the truth and do justice to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India. As a paper conducted by natives, we are afraid, it will be generally treated with contempt by the haughty portion of the Anglo-Saxon Community and its organs; but we shall always expect to be perused by the calm and thoughtful members of the English Community, who are not carried away by party-clamours and party-feelings. With these few and humble professions we start the *Indian Mirror*, expecting always much from the forbearance and indulgence of our readers.

POLITICAL ASPECT OF AFFAIRS IN EUROPE.—Wanting the advantages of our elder brethren of the Press whose readers have been kept duly informed on all political topics, we believe it advisable that we should take a cursory review of the state of Europe from the termination of the 1st Napoleon's career down to the present date—that is to say, since his last fatal action at Waterloo. For upwards of a quarter of a century from the event, and as a consequence of that celebrated victory to the antagonists of France, matters appeared to have settled down to permanent tranquillity. Waterloo replaced the Bourbons on the French throne; but their imbecility soon cast the Capet branch of the family from their ill-merited elevation—for adversity had not taught them any useful lesson—paving the way thereby for the Orleans branch of the same House. One short interval of War there was—in Spain—but the struggle hardly possessed an interest for other States or affected the general affairs of the Continent—neither its cause, nor its duration, sufficed to excite the national sense of glory, or fortify the position of the Capets. Louis Philippe succeeded as "Citizen King" to Charles X. of unhappy notoriety. If ever monarch assumed his office under fortunate auspices, that monarch was Louis Philippe: the contrast between the weakness of his predecessor and his own peaceful but vigorous measures—his popularity, both at home and abroad—his admitted sagacity—his anxiety for order and national freedom and for those pursuits which showed themselves as likeliest to heal the wounds France had sustained at the hands of ambition and folly—his resolute adherence to the faith of treaties—his equanimity of disposition—his filling up, as it were, the gap between royalty and republicanism—by all these "the *Citizen* King" taught men to hope that the "Napoléon of Peace" had given such an impulse to national feeling as would keep it in the right direction and present to the world a political miracle, in fixing the character of the most restless and change-loving people on the face of God's earth. Voltaire describes his countrymen as being either "monkeys or tigers;" but under Louis Philippe and for no inconsiderable lapse of years, they looked as if they had, at length, settled down to a secure, because a demonstrable, condition of willing quiescence. A *fracas* with the Moors served as a sop to the Frenchman's love of glory: it did last long, though it gave rise to an effort for which we do not think the French, as a nation, are pre-eminently qualified. A *colony* in Africa started up and has endured, indeed, to this day: yet of its progress we know little, nor can it be foretold what may be the effect produced by it upon the Moorish character or the world without.

In an evil hour—notwithstanding that, with an astuteness peculiarly his own, Louis Philippe has contrived to girdle Paris with fortifications—the wonted firmness of the man and that of his whole family, root and branch, quailed before a

The Indian Mirror: Calcutta, August 1, 1861

We now turn to Indian reactions to the Press Act. The single sitting of the Council of the Governor-General, at which the Vernacular Press Act was passed in all its stages, was attended by one Indian, Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore, who supported the measure. He made a brief speech in the course of which he said:

"I must take this opportunity most emphatically to repudiate, on the part of the educated Natives of India, all sympathy with such writers, who, from whatever motive, attempt to excite something like a feeling of disaffection against British rule. The educated Natives do not even know of the existence of most of these newspapers. It is, however, I believe, a known fact that much of this class of writing proceeds from folly and a spirit of braggadocio rather than anything else, yet that some sort of check should be put upon this abuse of the liberty of the Press, I cannot deny. But whether the provisions of the existing laws are not sufficient for the purpose is what I am not in a position to judge. Those who are responsible for the good Government of the country seem to think that, considering present circumstances, they are not. For this reason, without giving any opinion regarding the detailed provisions of the Bill just placed before us. I deem it my duty to give my humble support to the action of Government, the more so as it is not likely to affect the better class of our journals".

Sir Alexander Arbuthnot in his concluding speech noted with regret that only one Indian member of the Council had attended the meeting. "I could wish", he said, "that more of our Native colleagues had been present to take part in the debate; but I feel bound to say that we are greatly indebted to the one Native Member of the Council who has been able to be present, for his sensible and loyal remarks on the subject of the Bill. I feel sure that the observation which the Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore has made will go forth to his countrymen—and especially to the educated portion of his countrymen—with considerable effect, and will exercise a most valuable influence on the discussions which we must expect to take place on this Bill. As my Hon'ble friend, the Lieutenant-Governor, remarked, I have no doubt that the Government will not escape attack on the measure to which it has felt it its duty to resort; but I do not apprehend that in those attacks there will be a single word which will induce any member of this Council to regret the part which he has taken in voting for and supporting the measure." Public reaction to the Maharaja's support to the Bill was unfavourable. But absence of criticism, dictated by the general esteem in which he was held, was more eloquent than words. The British Indian Association lapsed into silence and it was left to the Indian Association stimulated by Surendranath Banerjea to take up the cause. Support was not readily forthcoming. Surendranath personally canvassed the leaders of the day and met with discouragement from many of them. Some of them had been talked round by Lethbridge, while others wished him well but it is clear that they could not be a party to any agitation. The Bengal Christians proved to be his strongest supporters and Surendranath Banerjea pays handsome tribute to the response from the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea as a man of amiability combined with strength and firmness. A meeting was arranged to be held in the Town Hall and many attempts were made to the last moment to dissuade the sponsors from going through with it. After anxious confabulation it was decided that the meeting should not be abandoned and that the consequences, whatever they might be, should be faced. The sponsors of the Act had listed the following kinds of writing which it was intended to curb:

"1. Seditious libels, malicious and calumnious attacks on the Government, accusing it of robbery, oppression, and dishonesty, and imputing to it bad faith, injustice. and partiality.

2. Libels on Government officers.

3. Contemptuous observations on the administration of justice, pointing to its alleged impurity and worthlessness.

4. Libels on the character of Europeans, attributing to them falsehood, deceit, cruelty and heartlessness.

5. Libels on Christians and Christian Governments, and mischievous tendencies to excite race and religious antipathies.

6. Suggestions and insinuations which their authors believe fall short of seditious libels by reason of the absence of positive declarations".

Surendranath Banerjea who delivered one of his most brilliant speeches at a public meeting, put up a spirited defence of the Indian language Press and ably refuted the charges levelled against it by Government. He quoted Sir Richard Temple and even Sir George Campbell who had acknowledged the absolute loyalty of the Indian language Press between the years 1872 and 1875, and asked how it was that the same Press turned hostile and seditious in the next three years. There were 35 papers published in the Indian languages in Bengal at the time. Examples of seditious writings (32 in all) had been extracted from 15 papers, one of them, the *Samachar Darpan*, having ceased to exist six months earlier. The Government was evidently unaware of the fact because the Commissioner of Police addressed a notice to the editor of the paper calling on him to enter into a bail-bond for its future good conduct. Taking three typical examples, Surendranath contended that translations of the articles objected to were misleading and torn from the context, after careful omission of passages affirming basic loyalty to the British Government in India. He quoted these affirmations of loyalty and asked whether any government would be left in doubt about the basic attitude of a Press which had given expression to them. The concluding passages of his address were a complete exposure of the injustice of the Vernacular Press Act as well as the arbitrary manner in which it had been enforced.

"The Advocate-General has taken the trouble of classifying the heads (listed earlier) under which the several extracts may be placed. It would be interesting to know under which of those heads the extracts *I have quoted would come. The Vernacular Press is, therefore, not seditious. The Act, therefore, is entirely unjustifiable. It has been remarked by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, in the course of his speech that Sir Thomas Munro was against a free Press. Sir Alexander quotes Munro's minute dated 1822, but he says that he does not rely upon this minute. Sir Thomas Munro is opposed to a free Press, on what ground? Because he thought that the writings of a Free Native Press would have a most prejudicial effect on the minds of the Indian soldiery. It is not even pretended that the articles of the Vernacular Press are helping to create disaffection in the minds of the native soldiery. I, therefore, say that it is as well that Sir Alexander does not rely on Sir Thomas Munro's minute. But Sir Alexander has likewise cited the authority of Metcalfe and Macaulay, in support of the new Gagging Act. I am bound to remark that the honourable member has not done justice to Sir Charles Metcalfe. Sir Charles, no doubt, contemplated the possibility of circumstances arising which might make it necessary to impose

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N.B.—*The *Bharat Sangakarak* observes with regret that Government has only, two means, both imperfect and incorrect, of judging the tone of the native newspapers. These are—(1) the weekly report which is often a mistranslation of the views of the native editors; and (2) the representations made to Government by men like Kirkwood, which cannot but be of a hostile character. Under these circumstances it has become a matter of consideration with Native editors how to keep the Government informed of the true views maintained on public questions by the vernacular newspapers. The Native Press Association should now be up and doing.

restrictions upon the liberty of the Press. But he thought that temporary or local restraints would be sufficient to meet any case or emergency. Lord Canning and his Council understood Sir Charles Metcalfe's minute in this sense, as may be gathered from their despatch to the Court of Directors on the subject of the Gagging Act of 1857. Metcalfe said, in reply to the address presented to him by the people of Calcutta: 'I entirely concur with you in the desire which you entertain that if, at any time, actual danger should render necessary, temporary or local restraints on the liberty of the Press, the precautions applied by the Legislature may be only commensurate to the real exigency, and that no restrictions may be made permanent beyond those which are necessary to ensure responsibility; and I trust that all legislation, with a view to protect the community against licentiousness, will be in the true spirit of liberty.

"While speaking on this subject, I cannot help remarking upon the manner in which the Act is being worked. When the Bill became law, everybody thought it would be kept suspended like the sword of Damocles over the devoted heads of the Vernacular editors. But, alas, these hopes have been blasted. Already several editors of vernacular papers have been called upon to furnish security. Such demand has been made from the *Bharat Mihir* of Mymensingh, from the *Dacca Prakash* and *Hindoo Hitoysini* of Dacca, from the *Sulava Samachar*, and the *Samachar* of this city. And I ask, what offence have those papers been guilty of since the passing of the Act? We know of no offence which they have committed. Is the law then to have a retrospective effect? This call for security has told with fatal effect upon one at least of these papers. The *Samachar* has ceased to exist. And I have no doubt a similar fate will soon overtake many other vernacular papers. Gentlemen, there has been some irregularity in the practical working of the Act. Section 3 requires that it is the Magistrate who must take the initiative in calling upon editors to furnish security. But in the case of at least three papers, it is the Lt. Governor who has taken the initiative and has called upon the Magistrate, through the Commissioner of the Division, to require the editors to enter into their bail bonds.

"It is melancholy to contrast the manner in which the Gagging Act of 1857 was enforced, with the manner in which the present Vernacular Press Act is being worked. The Gagging Act of 1857 was a much milder piece of legislation than the Press Act of 1878. Mild as it was, it was worked with far greater moderation and forbearance. Let me illustrate this by an instance. On the 23rd of June 1857 the *Friend of India* published an article, headed the Centenary of Plassey. The Governor-General was of opinion that it contained objectionable remarks. A warning was sent round to the editor. He took no notice of the warning. He published the article in the next issue of his paper, in much more violent language, in reckless defiance of the warning that had been sent. But even then the forbearing Governor-General, whose memory we all cherish with so much respect, did not withdraw his licence but on receiving an assurance from the proprietor of the *Friend of India*, that such objectionable matter would not be allowed to appear in its future issues, forgave the peccant journalist, and allowed the licence to continue. A similar act of forbearance was shown as regards a letter which appeared in the *Bengal Hurkara* of the 13th September 1857, and this forbearance was shown at a time when it was a matter of question whether stern severity should not take the place of mercy and moderation."

The Calcutta public meeting was an unqualified success and gave those who participated in it a sense of unity and strength and earned for the Indian Association, under whose auspices it was held, a significant place in the politics of the country. The Association addressed a letter to Gladstone who had opposed the Act in Parliament and had later introduced a measure in the House of Commons proposing that all actions taken under the Indian Vernacular Press Act should be reported to the Secretary of State and laid before Parliament. Although the motion was lost, it served the useful purpose of placing on record the doubts entertained by a substantial section of the House as to the wisdom of the measure. Lord Cranbrook himself, while

agreeing to the measure, was not happy about its rigid enforcement. He made it clear that criticism of Government or its measures should not be discouraged when it was dictated by an honest desire for improvement as the Indian language Press had been acknowledged to be a valuable medium for ascertaining facts of social conditions and political sentiments. He directed that mere censure of officers or the measures of Government, even if captious, ought not to be repelled and that neither European nor Indian officials should be encouraged to exhibit too great sensitiveness even under unreasonable blame.

CHAPTER XI.—REPEAL OF THE GAGGING ACT

It was apparent from the conditions with which the working of the Act was hedged and the opposition to it both in India and in Britain that the Vernacular Press Act would not remain long on the Statute Book. When Gladstone became the Prime Minister and Lord Ripon the Governor-General and even before the strong-headed Sir Ashley Eden retired from the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal, the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act became a foregone conclusion. Early in 1881 the Secretary of State for India wrote to Lord Ripon expressing the view that there was nothing to show that the law, which infringed the principle of equality of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India, had been accompanied by increased security to the Government or other compensating advantages". He suggested, therefore, that it would be wiser to amend the Penal Code (Section 124A) than to take recourse to exceptional measures. Lord Ripon's reply was clearly indicative of his intention to dispense with the measure at the earliest opportunity:

"The Act of 1878 constituted a direct departure from the policy with respect to the press in this country, which had been followed by the Government of India for upwards of 40 years. If it is repealed now it is very important that it should be done in a manner calculated to avoid the evils sure to result from frequent changes of system in regard to this important subject, and that the law relating to seditious and libellous writings should be placed upon as permanent a footing as possible.

With this view we feel that, before proceeding to the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, we ought to examine carefully, as your Lordship has suggested, in consultation with the Local Governments, whether any alteration of the provisions of the Penal Code relating to writings of the description above referred to is required, and, if it is, in what form it should be made. We are, therefore, under the necessity of postponing, for the present, the introduction of a Bill to repeal the Vernacular Press Act, but we beg to assure your Lordship that it is our full purpose and intention to take measures for repealing that Act immediately upon the reassemblage of the Government in Calcutta next winter".

The Repealing Bill was passed without discussion on December 7, 1881, the President of the Council, Lord Ripon, cutting short the proceedings by a few remarks:

"I do not wish to detain the Council by any observations of my own, nor do I think that I am in any way called upon to review the reasons or motives for which the Act was originally introduced. All I desire to say is that it will always be a great satisfaction to me that it should have been during the time that I held the office of Viceroy that the Act had been removed from the Indian Statute Book".

Other measures which marked Lord Ripon's enlightened regime were the appointment of the Indian Education Commission of 1882, and the implementation of its recommendations and the measures he took to ensure closer association of Indians in the local and municipal administration.

Surendranath Banerjea's active participation in the agitation against the Verncular Press Act drew the limelight to himself and the *Bengalee* not only paid its way but enabled the editor and its associate, Ashutosh Biswas, to clear the debt incurred in purchasing the printing press. Surendranath

Banerjea so successfully opposed the presentation of an address to Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor, on the eve of his retirement, that the meeting which was to have been held in the Town Hall as a public function was reduced to a gathering of Sir Ashley Eden's personal friends and admirers.

In the same year Surendranath Banerjea was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for a libellous paragraph published in the *Bengalee.* The facts of the contempt case are best recorded in Surendranath Banerjea's own words:—

"On April 2, 1883, the following leaderette appeared in the *Bengalee*:

'The Judges of the High Court have hitherto commanded the universal respect of the community. Of course, they have often erred, and have often grievously failed in the performance of their duties. But their errors have hardly ever been due to impulsiveness, or to the neglect of the commonest considerations of prudence or decency. We have now, however, amongst us a judge, who, if he does not actually recall to mind the days of Jeffreys and Scroggs, has certainly done enough, within the short time that he has filled the High Court Bench, to show how unworthy he is of his high office, and how by nature he is unfitted to maintain those traditions of dignity which are inseparable from the office of the judge of the highest Court in the land. From time to time we have in these columns adverted to the proceedings of Mr. Justice Norris. But the climax has now been reached, and we venture to call attention to the facts as they have been reported in the columns of a contemporary. The *Brahmo Public Opinion* is our authority, and the facts stated are as follows: Mr. Justice Norris is determined to set the Hooghly on fire. The last act of *Zubberdusti* on his Lordship's part was the bringing of a *saligram,* a stone idol, into court for identification. There have been very many cases both in the late Supreme Court and the present High Court of Calcutta regarding the custody of Hindu idols, but the presiding deity of a Hindu household had never before this had the honour of being dragged into Court. Our Calcutta Daniel looked at the idol and said it could not be a hundred years old. So Mr. Justice Norris is not only versed in Law and Medicine, but is also a connoisseur of Hindu idols. It is difficult to say what he is not. Whether the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta will tamely submit to their family idols being dragged into Court is a matter for them to decide, but it does seem to us that some public steps should be taken to put a quietus to the wild eccentricities of this young and raw Dispenser of Justice.

'What are we to think of a judge who is so ignorant of the feelings of the people and so disrespectful of their most cherished convictions, as to drag into Court, and then to inspect, an object of worship which only Brahmins are allowed to approach, after purifying themselves according to the forms of their religion? Will the Government of India take no notice of such a proceeding? The religious feelings of the people have always been an object of tender care with the Supreme Government.

'Here, however, we have a judge who, in the name of Justice, sets these feelings at defiance and commits what amounts to an act of sacrilege in the estimation of pious Hindus. We venture to call the attention of the Government to the facts here stated, and we have no doubt due notice will be taken of the conduct of the judge'.

The leaderette was based on information that appeared in the now defunct newspaper, the *Brahmo Public Opinion.* The *Brahmo Public Opinion* was edited by the late Bhubon Mohan Das [C.R. Das's father], a well-known solicitor of the High Court. As no contradiction appeared, I accepted the version as absolutely correct, especially in view of the fact that Babu Bhubon Mohan Das, being solicitor and an officer of the Court, might naturally be presumed to be well informed on all matters in connection with the High Court I reproduced the substance of what appeared in the *Brahmo Public Opinion* and commented upon it.

Soon after, I received a writ from the High Court to show cause why I should not be committed for contempt of Court. The writ was served on me on May 2, and May 5 was fixed as the day for the hearing. The time was short; and my difficulty was that I could not get any barrister to take up

the brief on my behalf. Monomohan Ghose was ill and confined to bed. W.C. Bonnerjea at last undertook to defend me, but on the distinct understanding that I should apologize and withdraw the reflections I had made on Mr. Justice Norris. As the comparison which I had suggested in the incriminating paragraph between him and Scroggs and Jeffreys was unfair and indefensible, written in a moment of heat and indignation, I readily consented.

On May 5, the case came on before a Full Bench consisting of five judges, among whom was Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, and was presided over by the Chief Justice, the late Sir Richard Garth.

The majority of the judges, and they were Europeans, were for sentencing me to imprisonment. Mr. Justice Romesh Chunder Mitter insisted upon a fine only. The day before, so the report went, the Chief Justice had seen him at his private residence and had talked to him and argued with him, with a view to persuading him to agree with the majority, but all in vain. At the conference the arguments were repeated with the added weight of the personal authority of the other judges. But Mr. Justice Mitter remained unconvinced, relying on the precedent created in Taylor's case, where the Chief Justice, Sir Barnes Peacock, had deemed the infliction of a fine sufficient.

At last, when it was past half past eleven, the five judges appeared and took their seats on the Bench. The Chief Justice read out the judgment on behalf of the majority of his colleagues, putting in a slip, which was evidently a later production, that he and his colleagues disagreed with Mr. Justice Mitter. Mr. Justice Mitter then read out his dissenting judgment, after which the judges left the Court. The crowd in the Court-room slowly followed".

Surendranath Banerjea's account of the public reaction to the sentence passed on him and his analysis of the considerations that stimulated various section of the community have an important bearing on the state public feeling at the time:

"The news of my imprisonment created a profound impression not only in Calcutta, and in my own province, but throughout India. In Calcutta, on the day of imprisonment, the Indian shops were closed and business was suspended in the Indian part of the town, not by order, or by an organised effort, but under a spontaneous impulse which moved the whole community. The students went into mourning. The demonstrations held in Calcutta were so large that no hall could find space for the crowds that sought admittance: the bazaars were utilized for the purpose. Then was first started the practice of holding open-air meetings, and these were demonstrations not confined to the upper ten thousand or the educated classes: the masses joined them in their thousands. Hindu feeling had been touched. A Hindu god had been brought to a court of Law; and, whatever the legal merits of the case might have been (and with these the general public do not usually trouble themselves), the orthodox Hindu felt, rightly or wrongly, that there had been an act of desecration. The educated community, though sympathizing with their orthodox countrymen, were impelled by motives of a different order. The Ilbert Bill controversy, in which Mr. Justice Norris had unfortunately taken a prominent part unbecoming his judicial position, had roused them to a fever-heat of excitement. They further felt that a sentence of a fine, as in the Taylor Case, cited by Mr. Justice Mitter, would have been sufficient, and they scented in the punishment of imprisonment inflicted on me a flavour of party feeling unworthy of the traditions of the highest Judicial Bench.

In the whole course of my public life, I have never witnessed except in connexion with the agitation for the modification of the partition of Bengal, an upheaval of feeling so genuine and so wide-spread as that which swept through Bengal in 1883. Public meetings of sympathy for me, and of protest against the judgment of the High Court, were held in almost every considerable town. So strong was the feeling that in some cases even, Government servants took part in them and suffered for it. But these demonstrations were not of the evanescent order. They left an enduring impress on the public life of the province".

CHAPTER XII.—NATIONAL AWAKENING

Controversy over the Ilbert Bill was well under way when the *Bengalee* Contempt Case intervened and, as Surendranath Banerjea himself points out, enlightened public opinion which had been roused by controversy over the Bill was readily drawn to his case. It would be true to say that racial feeling between Indian and European British subjects, which germinated in the unequal application of the Adam Licensing Regulation of 1823, and which flourished as a rank growth largely fed by European passion, during and after 1857, reached its climax in the controversy over the Ilbert Bill. Although attributed to and associated with the name of Sir Courtney Ilbert, it was actually initiated by one of the last acts (March 28, 1882) of Sir Ashley Eden who achieved much notoriety over the Vernacular Press Act. Sir Ashley's proposal was based on a note by B. L. Gupta of the Bengal Civil Service who represented that Indian members of the covenanted Civil Service were placed in an invidious position by the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code which limited the jurisdiction over European British subjects to judicial officers who were themselves European British subjects.

The Ilbert Bill sought to remove this distinction and its publication by a decision of March 1883, set aflame controversy which had already been simmering. The European community, both official and non-official, made equal and concerted contribution to the unbridled and violent agitation. When the Marquis of Ripon returned from Simla to Calcutta in the winter of 1883, he was personally insulted at the gate of Government House. A plot had been hatched by the European residents of Calcutta to storm Government House, take the Viceroy prisoner, and pack him off to England *via* the Cape, if the Bill was passed in the form in which it had been circulated. The highest European officials, including the Lieutenant-Governor, had knowledge of the conspiracy. All parties at Government House were totally boycotted by the non-official European community. At the meetings of the Legislative Council of December 7 and January 4 and 7, the Viceroy announced modifications of the Government's intentions in regard to the Bill as the result of an arrangement arrived at with the European community. Briefly, the amendment provided that while Indian District Magistrates would be empowered to try European British subjects, the right was secured to the latter to be tried by jury of which at least half the number was to be European.

When the Bill, as amended, was passed on January 28 without a division, and became Act III of 1884, the leader of the European community, Sir Griffith Evans, made it clear that they "had not assented to the principle of the Bill nor to anything of the kind, but that, retaining their own view of their own privileges and rights, they had assented to the passing of this Bill in order to procure peace".

There was much weight in the contention that the Ilbert Bill, as passed, created conditions, perhaps, worse than those that the original measure was intended to remedy. The jury provision unusual as it was, gave the European

British subjects a further protection in the sense that as European jurors were not easy to find in the district, cases would have to be transferred to the High Court necessitating travel by witnesses over long distances from their homes. The only advantage was that District Magistrates, without distinction, could sentence European British subjects, after a trial by Jury as provided, to a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months and a fine upto Rs. 2,000. European opinion was triumphant and the Indian community utterly disappointed but the choice lay between agitating against the Bill as finally agreed on (the *concordat,* it was called) and losing Lord Ripon as Viceroy.

The introduction of the original measure and the controversy it aroused, nevertheless, served a useful purpose. The vast Indian population came to understand the privileged position which the European British subjects enjoyed and the organised agitation against the measure by the European community in Calcutta and elsewhere, served the double purpose of bringing home to the Indian how extremely sensitive the European was when his own privileges were touched as well as of providing a practical demonstration of how grievances should be organised and agitated.

Among the very few Englishmen who supported the Ilbert Bill in its original form and incurred, at the time, the opprobrium of their own community, was Robert Knight who had also come down strongly on the side of Surendranath Banerjea in the great contempt case. The *Statesman* published a series of editorials condemning the attitude of the judiciary. Nor was Robert Knight alone among the few European champions of the Indian cause in resisting the agitation for the perpetuation of the privileged position of the European community. Working in another sphere to the same purpose, was the civilian, Allen Octavian Hume, who, after retirement in 1882, devoted his time and energies in propagating the principles of liberalism among educated Indians. Other enthusiastic supporters were Sir William Wedderburn and Wilfred Blunt. They were the prime movers in the founding of an all-India organisation for giving concerted expression to Indian opinion. Surendranath Banerjea had already prepared the ground by a tour of Northern India and Western India during which he had established many valuable contacts. The first Indian National Conference was held in Calcutta on July 17, 1883, while yet the idea of organising the Indian National Congress was taking shape. It was the immediate reaction to organised European opposition to constitutional progress; its sinews as a permanent organisation were still to be developed. To a great extent, Indian leadership was spurred, if not stung into action, by an open exhortation addressed by Hume to the educated section of the community. In a sentence, his admonition was—organise and fight for your rights; if you cannot or will not, don't complain about oppression. This is what he wrote:—

"If you, the picked men, the most highly educated of the nation, cannot, scorning personal ease and selfish objects, make a resolute struggle to secure greater freedom for yourselves and your country, a more impartial administration, a larger share in the management of your own affairs, then we, your friends, are wrong and our adversaries right, then are Lord Ripon's noble aspirations for your good fruitless and visionary, then, at present at any rate, all hopes of progress are at an end, and India truly neither lacks nor deserves any better Government than she enjoys. Only, if this be so, let us hear no more factious, peevish complaints that you are kept in leading strings and treated like children, for you will have proved yourself such. *Men* know how to act. Let there be no more complaints of Englishmen being preferred to you in all important offices, for if you lack that public spirit, that highest form of altruistic devotion that leads men to subordinate private ease to the public weal, that patriotism that has made

Englishmen what they are—then rightly are these preferred to you, rightly and inevitably have they become your rulers. And rulers and task-masters they must continue, let the yoke gall your shoulders never so sorely, until you realise and stand prepared to act upon the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness".

Hume appealed for 50 good men and true for founding what he called the Indian National Union. It was his intention that discussions should be confined to social problems and that the opportunity should be taken of bringing leading politicians together once a year. His view was that there were recognised political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras and in other parts of India, and he felt that these bodies would be relegated to a secondary position if the Indian National Union took up political questions. It was his intention that the Governor of the province, in which leaders from all over the country met, should be invited to preside over the deliberations so as to bring about closer relations between leading officials and non-official Indian politicians. When he discussed these proposals with Lord Dufferin in 1885, the latter expressed the view that the discussion of social problems alone would not be adequate as it was his view that a body of persons should be created which should perform the functions of an opposition.

W. C. Bonnerjee in his *Introduction to Indian Politics* (1898) writes of the circumstances in which the Indian National Congress became the premier political organisation of India as follows:—

"The newspapers (according to Lord Dufferin), even if they really represented the views of the people, were not reliable and as the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in Native circles, it would be very desirable in their interests as well as the interests of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respect the administration was defective and how it could be improved, and he added that an assembly such as he proposed should not be presided over by the Local Governor, for in his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds; Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments and when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's, before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it. Lord Dufferin had made it a condition with Mr. Hume that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress should not be divulged so long as he remained in the country, and this condition was faithfully maintained and none but the men consulted by Mr. Hume knew anything about the matter".

The first session of the Indian National Congress was closely related to the development of the Press because the founders and editors of some of the leading newspapers were also prominent among the founders of the national political organisation. Dadabhai Nowroji's *Rast Goftar* was still with him although its editor Kekhashru Kabraji was later to break away from the policies of the Congress. Mahadev Govind Ranade although he did not attend as a representative was associated with the *Indu Prakash* of which he was the founder-editor. From Bengal came Narendranath Sen, editor of the *Indian Mirror*. G. Subramania Iyer, Editor of the *Hindu* of Madras, enjoyed the distinction of moving the first resolution approving the appointment of a commission of enquiry into the working of the Indian administration. W. S. Apte and G. G. Agarkar represented the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* of Poona. Krishnaji Luxman Nulkar and Sitaram Hari Chiplonkar, were the President and Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha which published a quarterly journal. B. M. Malabari was editor of the weekly *Spectator* published from Bombay.

Other papers represented by their editors were the *Navabibhakar*, the *Tribune*, the *Nassim*, the *Hindustan*, the *Indian Union*, and the *Crescent*. Surendranath Banerjea was unable to attend the first session of the Congress in Bombay, as he had already convened the second national conference (the first was held in 1883) to be held in Calcutta on the same days (December 25, 26 and 27). The Calcutta Conference was jointly convened by the British Indian Association, the Indian Association and the National Mahommedan Association. It was a tremendous success and while it covered the same ground, it also took up and thoroughly discussed the question of separation of judicial and executive functions in the criminal administration of the country. The second Calcutta Conference was the last, and thereafter, it was merged in the Indian National Congress.

It is necessary here to go back briefly to review the various associations which came together to form the all-India political organisation. The oldest, the British Indian Association of Bengal, was founded in 1851 and Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, one of its founder-members, was acknowledged a veteran among the political leaders of the day. Younger but more active, the Indian Association, founded in the year 1876, had developed into a live body owing to the efforts of Surendranath Banerjea and Ananda Mohan Bose. There was the Bombay Association with a record of work under the leadership of Dadabhai Nowroji and Jagannath Sankerseth (founders) and Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai and Nowroji Ferdoonji whose name we have already heard in connection with the dismissal of Dr. George Buist from the *Bombay Times*. In Madras, there was a Native Association founded by Lakshminarasu Chettiar, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, and others, and the Triplicane Literary Society which had, amongst its members, M. Veeraraghavachari, G. Subramania Iyer, T. T. Rangachari and others. In Maharashtra, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha has already been mentioned.

These organisations came together to form the Indian National Congress, Surendranath Banerjea prepared the ground in a tour of Northern and Western India in 1878-79 and again of Northern India soon after the first Indian National Conference held in Calcutta in 1883. It was on the occasion of his first visit to the Punjab that he met Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia. Recalling this meeting in his book* written some fifty years later, Surendranath Banerjea writes:

"He was one of the truest and noblest men whom I have ever come across. It was perhaps difficult to know him and to get to the bottom of his heart, for there was a certain air of aristocratic reserve about him, which hid from public view the pure gold that formed the stuff of his nature. He threw himself actively into the work for which I had been deputed. I persuaded him to start a newspaper at Lahore. I purchased for him at Calcutta the first press for the *Tribune* newspaper and to me he entrusted the duty of selecting the first editor. I recommended the late Sitala Kanta Chatterjee of Dacca for the post, and his successful career as the first editor amply justified my choice. His fearless courage, his penetrating insight into the heart of things, and above all his supreme honesty of purpose, the first and last qualification of an Indian journalist, soon placed him in the front rank of those who wielded their pen in the defence of their country's interest. The *Tribune* rapidly became a powerful organ of public opinion; it is now perhaps the most influential Indian journal in the Punjab, and is edited by a gentleman who in his early career was associated with me as a member of the staff of the *Bengalee*. But it is not the only gift that the Sirdar gave to the Punjab. He gave away all he had for the benefit of his country; and the Dayal Singh College is an enduring monument of one of the worthiest sons of the Punjab, whose early death all India mourns in common with the province of his birth".

**A Nation in the Making.*

After the Northern India tour, Surendranath Banerjea visited Bombay and the South. It must have been after his return to Calcutta that he provided an editor as well as machinery for publication of the *Tribune*. It was a timely enterprise, for the *Civil & Military Gazette* had started issuing from Lahore some five years earlier as a daily newspaper intended to cater for the services.

From Agra, was publishing a paper called the *Mofussilite* from 1845. The *Civil & Military Gazette* was founded in Simla in 1872 as a weekly periodical. The two papers were amalgamated and issued from Lahore in 1876. In Lahore itself, soon after the annexation of the Punjab in 1846, senior officials started a paper called the *Lahore Chronicle* which had for its object the strengthening of patriarchal rule. An opposition paper, the *Indian Public Opinion,* was started in 1866 by the younger civilians. The *Lahore Chronicle* was unable to stand the competition of the new paper for more than a year, and it was absorbed by the *Indian Public Opinion* which, in its turn, was purchased by and amalgamated with the *Civil & Military Gazette.* It was at this time that the *Pioneer* of Allahabad and the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore came under a common ownership, the *Gazette* dealing primarily with military affairs and problems of the Punjab, and the *Pioneer* publishing as an all-India paper, both catering for and championing the cause of the all-India Services.

Mention should be made here of Rudyard Kipling, who worked on the *Civil & Military Gazette* and the *Pioneer* and at the same time produced his early literary works. Born in India in 1865, Kipling returned to India at the age of 17 to join the editorial staff of the *Civil & Military Gazette* in Lahore, the only other member being Stephen Wheeler who was in full charge. He threw himself with enthusiasm into his work which consisted of nearly all the proof-reading and the re-writing of dull Government reports into readable articles. He took a month off in the summer which he spent in the hills in Simla, and back he was at his work in the heat of May. A number of his poems was published in the *Civil & Military Gazette.* Soon they were published in book form. Rudyard Kipling had the first edition of *Departmental Ditties and other Verses* published under his own supervision. It sold out in a few weeks and he entrusted the second edition to Thacker Spink & Co. of Calcutta, who thereafter published all his later works.

Kipling was none too happy with his position on the *Civil & Military Gazette* and the proprietors of the *Gazette* and the *Pioneer* were not satisfied with the paper as it was then produced. A new editor was sent out, Robinson, and he and Kipling introduced many changes in the *Gazette* including short stories and light verse. One of Kipling's heroes was Lord Roberts but that did not prevent him from writing in the *Pioneer,* to which he was transferred in 1887, that the General was putting too many of his friends and relatives in positions of military authority. This almost landed Kipling in trouble, but he lived it down and took full advantage of the unlimited space available to him in the Allahabad paper. The atmosphere of the *Pioneer* was heavy and allowed little room for Kipling's light verse. He, nevertheless, kept up his literary activities in the little spare time he had.

His frivolous treatment of Government news for publication in the *Pioneer* embarrassed the proprietors and they looked on him as a liability rather than an asset. In order to keep the paper free of his mischief, they sent him off on a roving mission to other parts of India. Towards the end

of 1888, he was badly in need of money and he sold his rights in his books and went off on a roving mission again, this time to Calcutta, Moulmein, to Penang and Singapore, to Hong Kong, Osaka, Yokahama and finally to San Franscisco. While in the United States, he interviewed Mark Twain for his paper. He landed in England and after a while there set out for Africa in 1891. He was back in Lahore for Christmas, but he left for London again immediately after. He travelled for 7 years, writing for his paper and then settled down to a quiet life in England. Right through his travels, he sent accounts to his papers some of which probably did not see print, but Kiplings' name is remembered in the office of the *Civil & Military Gazette* today, a room being set apart where Kipling's relics are preserved. The *Pioneer* while in Allahabad sold away some of his first editions for a rupee each and they drifted away into the second-hand book shops from which some of them were retrieved, one of them being sold in the United States in the thirties for £2,000.

Reference has already been made to the starting of the *Madras Mail* as an evening paper, which, with the other Anglo-Indian papers, seems to have held undisputed field in the Presidency. Of the Indian papers, the fate of the Madras *Native Herald* which is known to have been in existence between 1845 and 1861 is obscure. It was probably published under Missionary auspices and is said to have been sympathetic towards Indians. In the early fifties, the Native Association came into being and published the *Crescent* which was described as the first paper conducted by Indians. It, however, died for want of support from the educated community. Nevertheless, the need was felt for an organ which would represent to Government the needs and aspirations of the people. Sir T. Madhava Rao, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao and Ranganatha Mudaliar published a journal, the *Native Public Opinion*. It languished for want of support and was ultimately incorporated with another paper, the *Madrassee* started by A. Ramachandra Iyer. The paper, however, lost public confidence because it opposed the appointment of Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer to a judgeship of the High Court in 1877, and soon after virtually ceased publication.

At the time of the passing of the Vernacular Press Act, the Indian language Press of Madras was very feeble. There was no Indian-owned paper published in English and there was no association to give expression to the feelings of the people, although views were strongly held against the Act and other discriminatory and restrictive legislation. The only association in existence at the time was the Triplicane Literary Society which had, among its members, some ardent youths of whom Veeraraghavachari and G. Subramania Iyer were the leading lights. Of the early struggle prior to the birth of the *Hindu* Veeraraghava Chari wrote:

"All of us were fresh from the College and had, therefore, no capital to speak of. Two of us, Mr. Subramania Aiyar and myself, had entered life as school masters; and three others were studying for the Law to qualify themselves for the Bar and could, therefore, hardly find time to render the undertaking any material help. The brunt of the work fell upon Mr. Subramania Aiyar and myself; and it was, therefore, not possible for us to start anything more than a weekly paper. We arranged for its publication at the "Srinidhi" Press, Mint Street, and the first issue was placed before the public on the 20th September 1878, this day twenty-five years ago. Oh; I well remember the various letters of encouragement and congratulation that came from all parts of India. I should, however, not omit to mention the discouraging remarks of some of our well-wishers who foresaw many evil consequences from the enterprise; they considered that the profession of a journalist was hazardous in the extreme, and that in the then condition of

the Presidency could not financially pay its way. The fate of the "*Native Public Opinion*" and the "*Madrasee*" was predicted for "*The Hindu*". But nothing daunted, we continued to work on. Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar was, from its very inception, till he severed his connection with "*The Hindu*", the editor of the newspaper, and he conducted it with an amount of zeal and enthusiasm hardly surpassed. And he was assisted in this work by Messrs. C. Karunakara Menon, K. Subba Row and K. Nataraja Aiyar, whose whole-hearted devotion was indeed praiseworthy. His high talents and great ability and his intimate knowledge of political and economic problems were in no small measure responsible for the correction of many abuses in the administration and the creation of a sense of public duty amongst our countrymen. I should be wanting in gratitude if I omit to mention one valued adviser whose name must for ever be connected with "*The Hindu*". Surgeon-Major Nicholson, who at the time resided at the Mount, on seeing the first issue of the paper, enquired after and came in search of us. He took us to his retreat at the Mount and gave us valuable advice. Week after week Mr. Subramania Aiyar and myself sat at his feet and imbibed his sound and mature views on various subjects. Not only he encouraged us with his advice, but he sent us regularly, week after week, most valuable contributions on various current topics which are to this day a study in themselves. I may state that this philanthropic European gentleman has not forgotten us or this country, but continues to occasionally write to our columns. May he live for ever so long is my fervent prayer. Mr. A. Ramachandra Aiyar, who was wholly instrumental in introducing us to this eminent writer, was of immense help to us not only in the matter of freely giving us his valuable advice, but also in giving us the benefit of his experience with the "*Madrassee*" of which he was the editor".

After the first month, the printing of the *Hindu* was transferred to the Scottish Press and gradually the conduct of the paper was left to G. Subramania Iyer and Veeraraghavachari. At this time, the need for an association was keenly felt and the Madras Native Association revived under the Presidentship of Sir Bashyam Iyengar. The Association shared common objects with the *Hindu*, namely, to represent the conditions and grievances of the people to the Government, in order to secure their redress and to win recognition of the claims of the sons of the soil to a proper share in the administration. The *Hindu* made very difficult going in the early years and G. Subramania Iyer toured the Presidency educating the people and enlisting support for the paper. In 1883, Raghunath Rao established a press for the *Hindu* at Mylapore and took an active interest in the conduct of the paper. In the following month, the paper was converted into a tri-weekly and published from the Empress of India Press. A public agitation against the presentation of an address to a retiring member of the Governor's Executive Council stimulated interest in the paper which published a number of letters condemning the proposal. In December the same year, the *Hindu* moved to its own premises on Mount Road after money had been borrowed to equip the press. In the following year, the *People's Magazine* was published from the same press, as a medium for detailed and elaborate discussion of subjects to which a daily paper could not give adequate attention. It was edited by Ananda Charulu and supported by P. Muniswamy Chetti. The office of the *Hindu* became the headquarters of the Mahajana Sabha which had replaced the Native Association and the first provincial conference was organised under the auspices of the Sabha in December 1885. Allan Octavian Hume associated himself with this conference and there began a close relationship between him and the *Hindu* which greatly benefited the paper. About this time, S. Subramania Iyer who had also shown great interest in the paper made a gift of the National Press to it. The *Hindu* was the centre of political activity when the third session of the Indian National Congress

was held in Madras under the presidentship of Badruddin Tayabji in 1887, when the resources of the press were utilised to the fullest to popularise the session as well as the organisation. Two years later, the paper was converted into a daily and Veeraraghavachari records that "though many of the subscribers to our tri-weekly gladly consented to pay the additional subscription, still there was considerable diminution in the number of subsscribers, and we had for a long time to conduct the paper irrespective of financial considerations".

A year before the paper was converted into a daily however, G. Subramania Iyer withdrew from his partnership with Veeraraghavachari and severed his connection with the *Hindu*. The relationship between the two was more than association in a common enterprise; it was a close friendship the foundations of which were laid in college and strengthened through later years. The breach must therefore have been a personal and painful one. Karunakara Menon succeeded G. Subramania Iyer as editor and Veeraraghavachari made an attempt to establish the *Hindu* as a company but as public servants were not permitted to take shares, the project fell through. In March 1905, S. Kasturiranga Iyengar who was legal adviser of the paper purchased the paper, gave up his practice at the bar and assumed the editorship. Veeraraghavachari continued as Manager but for reasons of health he severed his connection with the paper three months later. Karunakara Menon was Joint Editor for a shorter period and left the *Hindu* to start the *Indian Patriot* which under his vigorous editorship made a promising start but ceased publication after some years.

At this time (1892), G. Parameswaran Pillai who at the age of 18 had been expelled from the Maharaja's College at Trivandrum for his political writings and for his subsequent activities in connection with the "Travancore for Travancoreans" agitation, took up the editorship of the *Madras Standard,* (started in 1877 as an Anglo-Indian paper) and converted it from a tri-weekly into a daily paper without any prospect of financial help from any quarter. "G.P." as Parameswaran Pillai came to be known, was a man of unbounded enthusiasm for the many causes he took up in Madras, and he soon became the centre of a storm of his own creation. An ardent social reformer, he founded the Madras Social Reform Association. As a zealous worker in the cause of temperance, he became the President of the Indian Temperance Association. The popularity of his paper grew with his own. A specimen of his trenchant writing is his criticism of Lord Wenlock's administration:

"As wild beasts were let loose upon the martyrs for their faith in the days of old, Lord Wenlock has slipped his human ogres on the fold. He has failed where he ought to have been strong. He has sown broadcast the seeds of angry discontent till men murmur whether they are living in this year of grace under English rule or have stepped back into glimpses of inquisitorial Spain or savage Siberian Russia. Brutality is abroad, and for its license Lord Wenlock is responsible. With living evidences of ruined reputations and of broken hearts, of some suddenly deprived of their very wherewithal for the common necessaries of life, of others stripped of their emoluments to hide a colleague's sins, it is not necessary to dip deeper or to look elsewhere for the condemnation which those who believe in the existence of a great Creator, believe also, will fall with divine force upon the man who has steeled his heart and closed his ears to the cries of friendless fellowmen struggling in the tangled skeins of official tyranny. Lord Wenlock has betrayed the innocent; he has sheltered the wrong-doer".

This criticism attracted attention throughout India as well as abroad. G. P. opposed the presentation of an address to Lord Wenlock and supported,

both in the columns of the paper and in a public meeting called to decide the issue, the erection of a statue of Sir T. Muthuswami Iyer in the High Court buildings. He carried the day. When Gandhi toured India in 1896 explaining the cause of Indians in S. Africa, he was warmly welcomed by Parameswaran Pillai and in his autobiography he gratefully acknowledges the unreserved support he received:

"The greatest help here came to me from the late Sjt. G. Parameswaran Pillai, the Editor of the *Madras Standard*. He had made a careful study of the question and he often invited me to his office and gave me guidance. Sjt. G. Subramaniam of the *Hindu* and Dr. Subramaniam also were very sympathetic. But Sjt. G. Parameswaran Pillai placed the columns of the *Madras Standard* entirely at my disposal and I availed myself of the offer".

In the course of his political activities (he regularly attended every Congress session from 1889 onwards) he met political leaders from all parts of India all of whom held him in the highest esteem. The *Madras Standard* which grew in power and prestige was involved in a defamation suit for describing Sir V. Bashyam Iyengar as "notoriously partial". Parameswaran Pillai withdrew the libellous reference and published an apology. Friends intervened to effect a compromise but Sir V. Bashyam Iyengar pressed the suit and won it and Parameswaran Pillai was fined. It was this incident, perhaps, which spurred Parameswaran Pillai to go to England and to qualify for the bar, which he did. He, however, lost his health in the process. He returned to India in 1902 and died the following year at the early age of 39.

Despite the competition of the *Indian Patriot* and the *Madras Standard*, the *Hindu* made steady progress during this period without deviating from its tradition of sober comment and mature judgment. In his tours of Madras, G. Subramania Iyer had realised the need for a Tamil paper to reach those who did not have the advantage of the English language. He had already started in 1882 the *Swadesamitran* as a weekly. It was his purpose to reach the largest number of people and to create a taste for reading. The paper was, therefore, conducted in simple Tamil. Following the footsteps of the *Hindu*, he converted it into a tri-weekly in 1897 and a daily in 1899 when he retired from the *Hindu* and devoted all his time to the Tamil paper.

The first 17 years in the life of the "Swadesamitran" were remarkable for the richness of incidents both inside India and in the outside world. The curiosity of the people was aroused and they desired to know more and more about the events of the world. The *Swadesamitran* honestly attempted to satisfy the increasing need. Lord Ripon's scheme of local self-government created interest in public affairs. The Indian National Congress was started in 1885 to voice the grievances of the people. The editor of the *Swadesamitran* moved the first resolution in the Congress. People read with avidity all news about general political discontent in India in the closing years of the last century, Bal Gangadhar Tilak's imprisonment, the Boer War, etc. With knowledge of world events and world conditions and increasing realisation of the condition of affairs at home came political knowledge and an awakening national spirit.

The *Swadesamitran* entered on its second phase in the year 1899 when it became a daily. The closing years of the 19th century and the opening years of the present witnessed outstanding changes in world conditions, Japan, an Eastern nation gave a crushing defeat to its Western rival in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. It created a sensation throughout the East including India. The myth of Western superiority was exploded. The

Swadesamitran brought the lesson home to the people. It wrote in detail about the rise and growth of Japan. The swadeshi agitation consequent on the obnoxious partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon, the boycott of British goods, the fiery speeches of Bepin Chandra Pal on the beach sands of Madras, the starting of the Tuticorin Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company, the Ashe murder, the imprisonment of Subramanya Shiva and V. O. C. Pillai, the prosecution for sedition launched against the editor of the *Swadesamitran*, the Balkan War of 1912, the Great War of 1914—all these created widespread public interest and the proverbial placid waters of the South were stirred to their depths. People read every line of the news, both inland and foreign, faithfully in the columns of the *Swadesamitran*, G. Subramania Iyer did his utmost to satisfy the people's incessant desire to know and earned their goodwill and support. Subscribers increased; with expanding circulation and influence, the *Swadesamitran* became firmly established in Tamil Nad. Under the guidance of G. Subramania Iyer, the *Swadesamitran* became a well set and well-conducted Tamil newspaper.

The *Swadesamitran* not only gave news but also educated the people. It contributed to the development of the Tamil language. It was not easy in those days to conduct a daily newspaper in the Tamil language. Thanks to the Pandits and the Pulavars, Tamil remained for long hide-bound and impervious to new thoughts and ideas which came from the West and knocked at the doors incessantly. G. Subramania Iyer experienced much difficulty in expressing modern world events and ideas in a language which would easily be understood. He coined new phrases and used liberally English words like Government, police, prosecution, railways and the like in Tamil and they became quite familiar to the people. He wrote a simple clear Tamil style. The *Swadesamitran* rendered service to the cause of Tamil also by insisting on leaders speaking in the mother tongue in public meetings. G. Subramania Iyer, in all his tours in Tamil Nad, spoke in Tamil and created a new feeling of love for language. It is no surprise that people enthusiastically supported him.

The work of the *Swadesamitran* was fast increasing. G. Subramania Iyer who was getting old wanted to take steps for the efficient conduct of the paper. He found in A. Rangaswami Iyengar the proper man and he entrusted the *Swadesamitran* into his hands. A. Rangaswami Iyengar took charge of the *Swadesamitran* on September 1, 1915.

In Bengal, during this period there was a parallel development. Reference has already been made to the agitation over the Ilbert Bill. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in a review of the state of the Press, remarked on the absence of calmness and moderation in the Press as a whole but added that while English journalism had recovered its proper functions of temperate criticism, Indian journalism as a rule was still disfigured by a spirit of reckless hostility, a ready acceptance of unfounded rumours and proneness to impute unworthy motives to the Government and its officers. He added:

"Many utterances of the Native Press and of the Anglo-Native Press, from which the vernacular papers take their tone, were during the year such as to bring the papers containing them within the scope of the criminal law. In 3 instances applications were made to the Government by native officers to sanction the prosecution of calumnious articles in vernacular papers; but the Lieutenant-Governor has been personally opposed to any action which would put that law in motion, hoping for the time when prejudice and passion would give way to better feelings. Some articles have recently

appeared in Anglo-Native journals which counsel moderation, and the Lieutenant-Governor would be indeed glad if he could take them as the precursor of a better tone and temper".

As Sir Rivers Thompson himself led the agitation against the Ilbert Bill, his disapproval of the Indian language Press was inevitable and the Indian-owned Press did not take very kindly to his appeal for moderation.

Soon after Lord Dufferin succeeded Lord Ripon in 1884, the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* published certain facts about the administration of Bhopal and commented adversely on the conduct of Sir Lepel Griffin, the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India. Sir Lepel appealed to the Viceroy for legal proceedings to be instituted against the paper and, on the latter refusing to do so, he tendered his resignation and retired from service.

Again in 1889, when Lord Lansdowne was Viceroy, the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* published what it claimed to be a foreign office document. The newspaper wrote:—

"Our information, incredible as it may appear, is derived from such a high source that we cannot help putting faith in it. In the following document, the original of which His Excellency will find in the Foreign Office, the Viceroy will find the real reason why the Maharaja of Kashmir has been deposed. It will be seen that His Highness was deposed not because he resigned, or oppressed his people, but because Gilgit was wanted for strategical purposes by the British Government. Plowden proposed that the principalities of Gilgit should be occupied by the British Government at once, and this proposal of Mr. Plowden was the main cause of his downfall, Sir H. M. Durand, the Foreign Secretary, however, condemned Mr. Plowden's proposal, and him as Resident,..................".

Whatever doubt there was about the authenticity of the document was soon dispelled.

The Government had already under consideration at the time a Bill to make penal the publication of official secrets and in the discussion in the Legislative Council, Lord Lansdowne confirmed the first two paragraphs as substantially accurate and added that there could be no doubt whatever that it must have been communicated to the Press by a person who had had the opportunity of copying or committing to memory at least a part of Sir Mortimer Durand's minute. The rest of the document as published in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika,* Lord Lansdowne characterised as "a sheer and impudent fabrication". Lord Lansdowne added:—

"The responsibility which rests upon those who are ready not only to give to the public documents which they are well aware could not have been obtained except by a distinct and criminal breach of trust, but who are not even at the pains to satisfy themselves that these documents are genuine, is a very serious one.

Not content with persistently misrepresenting the Government of India, the publishers of the article have not scrupled to present to the public a garbled version of a confidential note, written more than a year ago, in order to give an entirely distorted account of the then views and actions of the Government....and I believe that an exposure of the practices to which our critics have not scrupled to resort in the present instance may have the effect of, in some degree, opening the eyes of the public as to the methods which have been adopted for the purpose of prejudicing its judgment in regard to this important case".

The *Statesman,* alluding to this speech, remarked:

"Since the receipt of the full text of the Viceroy's speech on the Official Secrets Bill, which we publish in another column, we have been at some

pains to compare carefully what is therein stated with the suggestions contained in Sir M. Durand's alleged minute as published by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* three weeks ago. As the result of this comparison we feel bound to say that the Viceroy's repudiation of the authenticity of all but the first two paragraphs of that document, as it appeared in the columns of the *Patrika*, is scarcely borne out by the admissions in His Excellency's own speech.................................. The main allegations of the *Patrika* are practically admitted, and it seems to us only fair to say that the inaccuracies which have been found in the published version of Sir M. Durand's minute must be due rather to the circumstances under which, apparently, the copy was made, than to any wilful garbling or manipulation of the documents on the part of the *Patrika*, for the purposes of misrepresenting the motives and intentions of the Government, as the Viceroy's speech would seem to imply".

No action was taken against the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, but an Official Secrets Act modelled on a similar Act passed by the British Parliament was adopted on October 17, 1889. It provided a penalty of imprisonment for a year to two years and/or a fine according to the nature of the offence. This Act was amended by Act V of 1904 and later replaced by the Official Secrets Act of 1923 which is in force today. At the time the first Act was passed it was needed more for the Anglo-Indian newspapers than Indian papers published in English or in an Indian language. It was a feature of Anglo-Indian journalism that officials actively participated in the conduct of newspapers, were regular contributors and often pursued differences, personal as well as on current issues. They disclosed the contents of official documents frequently, in order to support their point of view and more often than not such lapses were not even mildly reprimanded.

Newspapers in Bengal were caught up in a lively controversy over the Age of Consent Bill of 1891, which arose from a case known at the time as the 'Hari Maiti' case. Opposition to the measure was organised on the pattern of the earlier European opposition to the Ilbert Bill. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* played a leading part in the agitation against the measure and its columns were filled with opinions of leading men who expressed themselves against it. The other daily, the *Indian Mirror*, supported the Bill and the *Hindu Patriot* deplored the fact that there was no daily paper to safeguard the religion of the Hindus. On February 19, 1891, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was converted into a daily in response to the public demand. The Ghose brothers had considerable difficulty in meeting the financial and other requirements of a daily paper, but with the public support vouchsafed them, they managed to tide over the initial difficulties. A public meeting was convened to protest against the Age of Consent Bill, which the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* claimed as an unqualified success and a triumph for its policy. Bepin Chandra Pal's account of the meeting shows the *Bangobasi* as having organised opposition to the measure. He adds that while newspapers announced the proposed meeting as convened to consider the Age of Consent Bill, hand-bills printed in the vernacular were distributed announcing that the purpose of the meeting was to oppose the Bill. The President, Raja Pyari Mohan, who was expected to support the measure, unexpectedly opposed it. B. C. Pal made an unsuccessful attempt to address the meeting and refused to surrender the platform. The meeting broke up in confusion and another meeting was held which recorded its opposition to the measure.

This was the first move against associating social reform with politics which Aurobindo Ghose was to propagate later in Bengal and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the Bombay Presidency.

Between 1881 and 1884, a number of newspapers came into existence in Calcutta. Prominent among these were the *Indian Nation* founded and edited by U. N. Ghose, the *Hope* edited by the Amritalal Roy, the *Bangabasi* founded by Jnanendralal Roy and later owned and edited by Jogendra Nath Bose and the *Sanjibani* edited by Krishna Kumar Mitter. The last two were started as pice papers on the model of Keshab Chandra Sen's *Sulabh Samachar* and continued publication for many years. The *Bangobasi* was prominent among the papers which agitated against the Age of Consent Act and with the object of pulling up the Indian Press of Bengal, it was selected for prosecution (1891). Three articles were chosen for the purpose, one of which said that the Governor-General had ordained that the Hindu community must do what appears to be proper to the English and must forgo all that may appear opposed to what the English think proper.

It added:

"If in doing this your religion is destroyed let it be. If you are obstructed in observances which have descended to you from time immemorial, let it be. If you have to give up a handful of water to your belief in the Shastras, you must give it—still the mighty Ruler, the Englishmen, will never let you do that which may not appear to the English to be in conformity with good education, good morals and civilization. If it is so, Oh Probhu! then declare it openly and then destroy us all; destroy our caste, religion, and society; then we shall understand from what motives, for the accomplishment of what object, you are carrying out these measures".

The other two quotations were much in the same strain.

The Chief Justice of Bengal held that the articles were a deliberate attempt to excite feelings of enmity and ill-will against the Government and to hold it up to the hatred and contempt of the people. The Jury disagreed in their verdict and the case was postponed to the next session. The proprietor, editor, manager, and publisher of the *Bangobasi,* then presented a petition to the Lieutenant-Governor expressing regret for publication of the articles, and promised thenceforth to conduct the paper in a spirit of loyalty. The British Indian Association and the Native Press Association (formed after the proceedings had been instituted, with the object of improving the tone of the Indian Press and preserving moderation in the discussion of all public questions), interceded on behalf of the *Bangobasi* and urged the Government to stay further proceedings. With the consent of the Governor-General-in-Council, the case was dropped and as a result the tone of the Press improved.

The Indian Councils Act, 1892, provided for the enlargement of the Legislative Council to which Local Boards and Corporations were permitted to return members subject to the approval of the Government. The Government enjoyed majority representation and a limited scope of debate and interpellation was allowed. Newspapers expressed disappointment with the inadequacy of the measure and at the end of the year the Congress too recorded its disappointment that it should have fallen so very short of Indian aspirations.

CHAPTER XIII.—RANADE TILAK AND GOKHALE

Bombay and Maharashtra were in this period under the influence and inspiration of reformers like Mahadev Govind Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Kashinath Trimbak Telang. Of the three, Ranade was a bold advocate of social reform. Gokhale supported all social reform measures without equivocation but his main preoccupation was politics and the serious study of political and economic problems which he sought later to promote through the Servants of India of Society. Telang was always of two minds. He was attracted to social reform but he was always reluctant to "force the pace." He argued that it was necessary to concentrate on political progress because it was easier to achieve than social advancement, as Hindu reaction was deeply entrenched and not easily assailable. Yet when the Age of Consent Bill was under discussion he strongly supported it.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak entered this field with a clear view that emphasis on social reform should give way to the movement for political freedom. He derived his inspiration from Sisir Kumar Ghose whom he acknowledged as his Guru. Tilak was thus the political counterpart in Bombay of Motilal Ghose. It was Tilak's view that "the political movement could not afford to cut itself off from the great mass of the nation or split itself up into warring factions by premature association of the social reform question with politics." Aurobind Ghose who had long felt the same way, hailed Tilak as a leader of clear perception. In a brief appreciation of Tilak's approach, he wrote:—

"The proper time for that, a politician would naturally feel, is when the country has a free assembly of its own which can consult the needs or carry out the mandates of the people. Moreover, he has felt strongly that political emancipation was the one pressing need for the people of India and that all else not directly connected with it must take a second place; that has been the principle of his own life and he has held that it should be the principle of the national life at the present hour. Let us have first liberty and the organised control of the life of the nation. Afterwards, we can see how we should use it in social matters; meanwhile let us move on without noise and strife, only so far as actual need and advisability demand and the sense of the people is ready to advance. This attitude may be right or wrong; but Tilak being what he is and the nation being what it is, he could take no other".

"A subject nation does not prepare itself by gradual progress for liberty; it opens by liberty its way to rapid progress. The only progress that has to be made in the preparation for liberty, is progress in the awakening of the national spirit and in the creation of the will to be free and the will to adopt the necessary means and bear the necessary sacrifices for liberty. It is these clear perceptions that have regulated his (Tilak's) political career".

This was the philosophy which was to inspire the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta,* the Marathi and the English weeklies when Tilak ultimately gained control over them.

The two papers were started by Vishnu Krishna Chiplonkar. They were fore-runners of the Deccan Education Society which was formed two years later. The aims and objects of the new newspapers have been recorded by P. M. Limaye in his history of the Deccan Education Society:

"The prospectus of the *Kesari* was issued in October 1880 over the signatures of Chiplonkar, Tilak, Namjoshi, Apte, Agarkar and their common friend, Dr. G. K. Garde. The need of a Marathi paper dealing comprehensively with the condition of the country, the literary products of the Marathi language, the course of world politics was emphasized, and the signatories avowed their determination to treat every subject impartially, keeping unswervingly on the path of truth as they saw it. For, the prospectus proceeded "the vice of flunkeyism has been spreading since the beginning of Imperial rule; but every straight-forward man will admit that it is injurious to the true interests of our country". This observation is amplified in the leading article of the first number of the *Kesari* (4th January 1881). Newspapers are compared to night-watchmen, keeping the executive officers in wholesome fear of public opinion and the example of England is mentioned with approval, as in that country, through the instrumentality of the press, attention is directed to the public conduct of every functionary from the highest to the lowest, from the Prime Minister to the pettiest servant of Government, and thus there exists a reasonable guarantee that no injustice shall remain concealed. The editor also declared his intention to strive to bring about an improvement in the social condition by frankly telling the people what was evil and harmful in their ways. The *Kesari* and those that stood behind it were advocates of simultaneous advance on both fronts—the social and the political.

If the *Kesari* catered, to the needs of "the mass of ignorant population who have generally no idea of what passes around them and who therefore must be given the knowledge of such topics as concern their every day life, by writings on literary, social political, moral and economic subjects", the *Mahratta* kept in view "the more advanced portion of the community, who require to be provided with material for thinking intelligently on the important topics of the day". The tone and temper of the *Kesari* was democratic: its mission was popular education and public agitation. The *Mahratta* was intended to serve as the authoritative organ of educated public opinion in Mahrashtra in relation to Government, the English public and the intelligentsia in other Indian provinces. It comprehensively discussed every question of high politics, and also made available to its readers a choice selection of the views of foreign and Indian journals and publicists on the questions of the day. In its very first issue (Sunday 2nd January 1881) the *Mahratta* proclaimed the urgency of combating the following evils of British administration; (1) Ryotwari system of land tenure, (2) Destruction of native municipal and judicial institutions, (3) Grinding taxation, (4) Costly Government machinery, (5) Extirpation of local industry, and of native aristocracy. The Arms Act and Lytton's Press Gagging Act also came in for castigation. Very characteristic, too, is the unequivocal declaration in favour of the States: "With reference to the native States our policy will always be for the uninterfered continuance of such States to shield the native Princes from uncalled-for interference on the part of the politicals". The remedy suggested for the reform of administration in the States is bold and practical. Commenting on a speech of Lord Ripon the editor opines: "If Lord Ripon is serious in his purpose of reforming the Government of Native Chiefs, he must first set about reforming the Political Agents, and try to give constitutional Government to the Native States".

A year after its publication, the *Mahratta* was involved in an action for defamation instituted against it by Rao Bahadur Mahadeo Vasudeo Barve, the Karbhari of Kolhapur. The authenticity of certain letters supposedly written by the Karbhari and published in the *Mahratta* was raised and they were proved to be forgeries. Tilak and Agarkar tendered an unqualified apology to Barve but he persisted in the suit and they were sentenced to four months imprisonment. Public sympathy was, however, with them and they came out of their imprisonment as martyrs who had suffered for a great cause. Chiplonkar died when the case was in progress.

Tilak, Namjoshi, Apte and Agarkar carried on the good work and, in 1884, they founded the Deccan Education Society of Poona. They were

joined later by Professor V. B. Kelkar, Professor Dharap and Professor M. S. Gole and, in the following year, the Fergusson College of Poona came into existence. The Society and its associated institutions continued to flourish but its leading founders participated in its activities according to the interest which drew them.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak severed his connection with the Deccan Education Society in 1890. In 1888, Agarkar whose views on social and religious matters did not accord with those of Tilak, left the two newspapers which thereafter Tilak conducted with the aid of Kelkar and H. N. Gokhale but it was not long after that V. B. Kelkar also left the paper, and Tilak became the sole editor of both. Finally, regular partition was effected by which Tilak obtained the proprietorship of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, while the ownership of the Arya Bhusan Press remained with V. B. Kelkar and Gokhale.

Tilak wielded a powerful pen and almost the first agitation he took up on gaining possession of the two papers was against the Age of Consent Bill, for reasons already stated in the earlier analysis of his political philosophy. Furthermore, he took his cue from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* whose founder-editor Sisir Babu, Tilak acknowledged as his Guru:

"I had learnt many lessons sitting at his feet. I revered him as my father and I venture again to say that he, in return, loved me as his son.......... I have distinct recollections of what he told me of his experiences as a journalist with tears in his eyes and sympathy in his words. I then requested him I remember now, to put down those incidents, at least to leave notes in writing, so that they might serve the further historian of the country or even the writer of his life".

Tilak made no secret of the fact that in the conduct of the *Kesari*, he followed closely the model of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. "I may further tell you", he said, "that when we started our paper in vernacular we tried to follow the editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. That was a time when one had to teach the people how to criticise the bureaucracy and, at the same time, keep oneself safe, bodily at least, if not pecuniarily. That was the idea fully developed by Sisir Kumar in those days of journalism."

The spirit of the man, the method he employed and the policy he set for the two papers, set the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, more particularly the Marathi paper, well on the road to popularity and prosperity. Although Tilak was the life and soul of the paper he was engaged in a number of other activities. First, he was conducting a Law Class and he devoted considerable time to the study of the Vedas. He was a prominent Member of the Indian National Congress and for many years Secretary of the Deccan Congress Committee. He organised the first five sessions of the Bombay Provincial Conference, the last of which was held at Poona with the Hon'ble Sir Pherozeshah Mehta as President. In addition he was an elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council and a fellow of the University of Bombay. He was returned as a member of the Poona Municipality at the head of the poll in 1895.

Tilak had, however, decided on his political path and the first evidence of a break came a little before the Congress Session when the eighth Social Conference was due to be held in Poona in 1895. That year a circular

signed by Mahadev Govind Ranade, Satyendranath Tagore and some 50 others was sent round containing a number of questions on social reform, education, charitable relief, and socio-religious observances. The question of the extent to which the Indian National Congress should concern itself with matters relating to social reform was thus brought to a head. At the time, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao was the General Secretary of the Social Conference. A letter from a Tanjore correspondent was published in a paper in Poona (possibly one of Tilak's publications) stating that Raghunath Rao had resigned his office as he thought the Conference to be a farce, if not a clever deception. Ranade wrote to Raghunath Rao asking whether this was correct and the reply came that Raghunath Rao had told a friend that he was glad that the Congress had refused the use of its pandal to the Social Conference and that "the deception that used to be practised by the Congress...........that it worked in conjunction with the Social Conference was unveiled." Ranade further revealed that he had received a refusal from the President-elect, the Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea, who had written to him as follows:—

"The *raison d'etre* for excluding social questions from our deliberations is that if we were to take up such questions it might lead to serious differences ultimately culminating in a schism, and it is a matter of the first importance that we should prevent a split. The request of the other side is very unreasonable; but we have sometimes to submit to unreasonable demands to avert greater evils."

In Poona itself, the question of the Congress associating itself with social reform had been a subject of heated discussion for six months. Speaking of this Ranade said:—

"People got excited not only here, at Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Nasik, Bombay, but at Satara, Nagpur, Dharwar and in many parts of the country, as you will see from the telegrams that have been read to you.......On both sides our publicists and writers, our thinkers and preachers were all engaged in this matter, thinking every day and devoting all their attention in a way which almost provoked a cynical feeling whether we had lost all our wits......there is a serious significance which we must all lay to our hearts, if we want to derive the lesson which the exhibition of the last six months offers us......There must be something deeper which we must study, some weakness or strength whatever you may call it which alone can satisfactorily account for this phenomenon. According to some, Poona has done what no other place had the courage or folly to attempt, and this is the cause why this contest should happen here and not elsewhere. When we dive beneath the surface, I believe we do come to the traces of certain differences which mark this part of the country from the rest. Those differences require our most anxious consideration on this occasion. The conflict between the reformers and reactionaries in the Deccan Districts has been especially useful in drawing public attention to the claims of the Conference upon public sympathy. In all towns wherever the Marathi language is spoken including the Berars and the Central Provinces, the struggle between the two parties has been keen and active throughout the year. For reasons which I have stated in my first address such a conflict based on principles and not on personal differences, is not, under existing circumstances, possible in any other part of India. In view of this conflict it becomes the duty of all to consider what should be the attitude of the reformers towards those who are opposed to them. Strength of numbers we cannot command, but we can command earnestness of conviction, singleness of devotion, readiness for self-sacrifice in all honest workers in the cause. Even though these workers may be few in number, they will in the end succeed in overcoming opposition. We have above all to learn what it is to bear and forbear—to bear ridicule, insults, even personal injuries at times, and forbear from returning abuse for abuse."

This strange phenomenon—weakness or strength, courage or folly—which Ranade suddenly encountered, and could not clearly identify but sensed as a force to reckon with, was the awakening of the national spirit and the creation of the will to be free emanating from Bal Gangadhar Tilak and pervading the inert mass of the people.

Ranade was acknowledged to be the power behind the throne in Indian politics. He extended an invitation to Surendranath Banerjea to accept the presidentship of the Eleventh Indian National Congress Session and Tilak was chosen as the Secretary but as dissensions developed over the holding of the Social Conference Tilak retired from the work. He was nevertheless an active participant in the Congress Session. The new force worked within the Congress during the next ten years and finally manifested itself in the split at Surat in 1907. The two forces in the national movement need to be considered separately.

Mahadev Govind Ranade, both by inclination, and by circumstance, was at once the source of all activity and the unifying factor. The circumstance of his being an official also exerted a moderating influence on him. He was one of the first members of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha founded by Ganesh Vasudev Joshi. Soon after, he became the President and served the organisation for 22 years. He was also a member of the Prarthana Samaj, which was started at about same time as the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal; the Arya Samaj in the Punjab was a later movement. Ranade served the Prarthana Samaj with earnestness and devotion.

In 1862, a band of educated young men in Bombay decided to start an Anglo-Marathi weekly, the *Indu Prakash*. Ranade was offered the editorship and accepted it at a time when he was a Professor in the Elphinstone College and was also studying for the Master of Arts. Although he never spared himself, Ranade was patient and slow, though thorough in his study of a subject. In his early years he was regarded by some as dull. He believed in preparing himself before he ventured to instruct others. For example, when he was appointed Chief Examiner for Marathi (1862), he spent two months in studying Marathi grammar and reading the best literature in the language in order to equip himself for the task. He was also a patient teacher and many of his colleagues in later life were those who had been his pupils. He gave of his knowledge to all without impairing their own personal inclinations and bent. Every institution, every organisation and every movement of the time drew inspiration from Ranade. The Deccan Education Society was started on his advice and with his approval. It was only under Ranade's direction that two such opposite characters as Gokhale and Tilak could develop as they did, each to his full stature. The two struck out in different directions and on occasion came in conflict with each other but Ranade's was the unifying influence. The Deccan Education Society was the centre of these divergent opinions and its component parts—the college, the press and the two newspapers—were gradually separated without being violently torn apart. It was largely due to Ranade that the storm over the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Social Conference of 1895 blew over, if only for a time. It broke out afresh after Ranade's death in 1901.

Gokhale, because of his own qualities of patience and deep study, grew nearer to Ranade than the other leading men of the time. *The Quarterly Journal of the Sarvajanik Sabha* had been developed as a journal devoted to the careful and thorough study and discussion of current problems of the day and Ranade appropriately invited Gokhale to accept its editorship in 1887. Later, he entrusted the editorship of the *Indu Prakash* to Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar. Gokhale also edited the *Sudharak*, or *Reformer*, an Anglo-Marathi weekly of Poona, in conjunction with Agarkar who had earlier left the *Kesari* and *Mahratta*, owing to differences with Tilak on questions relating to politics and social reform. After the Surat split of 1907 Gokhale and his friends formed the Deccan Sabha of which he became the Secretary. He did not, however, sever his connection with the Deccan Education Society from which he retired in 1902 after having fulfilled his vow of life membership and, three years later, he founded the Servants of India Society to which his own example attracted a fine team of public-spirited men from all over the country.

A year earlier, the *Dnyan Prakash* had been converted into a daily and it was soon after taken over by the Servants of India Society which also acquired the Arya Bhushan Press. In keeping with the serious and constructive activities of the Society, the *Dnyan Prakash* devoted itself to the sober presentation of news and views. It was conducted by eminent persons who had given themselves over completely to the work of the Servants of India Society and the propagation of its ideals. It was critical of the Government but expressed itself with sobriety and restraint. It was equally critical of the preaching of extremist political doctrines.

Maharashtra had been stirred deeply by Tilak's aggressive nationalism and Poona was the storm centre of all his activities. Under his editorship and that of K. P. Khadilkar and N. C. Kelkar, the *Kesari* became a household word. Both Kelkar and Khadilkar were trusted lieutenants of Tilak. Both edited the *Kesari* with great ability, though their styles differed very much. Kelkar's writings were known for information, fair presentation, appeal to reason and overall literary flavour.

Khadilkar completely identified himself with the spirit and sentiments that characterised Tilak and his activities and as such, although of the same intellectual order as Kelkar, he faithfully reflected the Tilak view. It is a common saying among Marathi-speaking people testified to by Tilak himself, that the writings of Tilak and Khadilkar were easily inter-changeable—so identical were they in their presentation. Khadilkar was a powerful writer and could arouse the emotions of the reader almost to the same degree as his plays did on the stage.

Closely associated with Khadilkar and Kelkar in the conduct of the Kesari, was Sri J. S. Karandikar who succeeded Kelkar as the editor of the *Kesari*. Karandikar, who is the seniormost among the present Marathi journalists, is near to Khadilkar in style while he resembles, Kelkar in his informed criticisms. In the remote districts of the Maharashtra the word *Kesari* was understood to mean newspaper.

The *Dnyan Prakash* suffered in the competition and declined in popularity. It acquired a new lease of life when K. G. Limaye, a member of the Servants of India Society, was entrusted with complete control and direction of the paper in the twenties of this century. When he took charge, the sale of the *Dnyan Prakash* was about a thousand copies. On taking up the

direction and editorship of the paper, Limaye, while adhering to the policy of the Society, changed its complexion and made it popular. He appointed correspondents in the Southern Maharatta country, subscribed to *Reuter* and the *A.P.I.* news services. The *Dnyan Prakash* specialised in verbatim and graphic reporting of meetings and functions. The result was that the sales increased to about 15,000 copies in 1930-31. From June 1929, he began publishing the Bombay edition of the *Dnyan Prakash* which added a further sale of about 5,000 copies. The advertisement revenue, also, increased.

Unfortunately, there appears to have been difference of opinion among the members of the Society in regard to the managerial policies of Limaye. He was divested of managerial control and this led to his ultimate withdrawal from the editorship. His withdrawal accelerated the decline of the paper. The absence of a spirit of enterprise, and inadequate knowledge of the requirements and complexities of newspaper production among those who controlled and directed the *Dnyan Prakash* thereafter, was responsible for its continuous decline and its ultimate closure a year after the celebration of its centenary.

Gokhale, despite his differences with the Nationalists Group led by Tilak, was a consistent defender of the Freedom of the Press. In 1903, when it was proposed to amend the Official Secrets Act of 1889, he opposed it resolutely at every stage. He objected to the provisions placing civil matters on a level with naval and military matters, making unauthorised entry into a Government office an offence under the Act, and making all offences under the Act cognizable and non-bailable. He referred to the criticism by the *Englishman* of the proposed legislation and added:—

"I would like to see the official who would venture to arrest and march to the Police Thana the editor of an Anglo-Indian paper. But so far as Indian editors are concerned, there are, I fear, officers in this country, who would not be sorry for an opportunity to march whole battalions of them to the Police Thana. It is dreadful to think of the abuse of authority which is almost certain to result from this placing of Indian editors, especially the smaller ones among them, so completely at the mercy of those whom they constantly irritate or displease by their criticism......the proper and only remedy......is......to discourage the issue of Confidential circulars which seek to take away in the dark what has been promised again and again in Acts of Parliament, the proclamations of the Sovereigns and the responsible utterances of successive Viceroys (equality of treatment in the matter of recruitment to the services)."

Gokhale refused to move any amendment and opposed its reference to a Select Committee. In the Committee itself, he suggested certain amendments. Finally, he opposed its passage in the following words:—

"I greatly regret that Government should not have seen their way to accepting even a single one of the more important amendments of which notice had been given. This is the first time within my experience that a legislative measure has been opposed by all classes and all sections of the public in this country with such absolute unanimity....This single measure suffices to illustrate the enormous difference between the spirit in which the administration is carried on in England (and in India)......It is that, while in England the Government dare not touch the liberty of the press, no matter how annoying its disclosure may be, and has to reconcile itself to the latter regarding them as only so much journalistic enterprise, in India the unlimited power which the Government possesses inclines it constantly to repressive legislation".

No journalist could have put the case more accurately, more fully and more strongly than this unequivocal condemnation.

Again in 1907, he resolutely opposed the Seditious Meeting Bill. He referred to the working of the Seditious Meetings Ordinance which the proposed Act was to replace and said:—

"At the beginning of this year, another acute agitation sprang up, this time in the Punjab, against the Colonisation Bill and other agrarian grievances, and a fresh element of bitterness was added to the situation by the State prosecution of the *Punjabee* on a charge of exciting racial ill-will, when the *Civil and Military Gazette* had been let off with only a gentle remonstrance. This agitation too on its side swallowed up for the time, the general reform agitation in the Punjab, and the reform movement in other parts of India could not escape being affected by it. Then came the demonstrations at Lahore and the disturbance at Rawalpindi, and then the repressive measures of the Government—notably the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai, the arrest and prosecution of Rawalpindi pleaders and the Public Meetings Ordinance. The whole country was convulsed and while the Punjab itself was paralysed, in other parts of India even the most level-headed men found it difficult to express themselves with due restraint. That a man like Lala Lajpat Rai, loved by thousands not in his own Province only, a man of high character and of elevated feeling, a keen religious and social reformer, and a political worker, who, whatever, his faults, worked only in broad daylight, should have been suddenly arrested and deported without a trial—this was a proceeding which stunned the people throughout India. And as regards the Rawalpindi case, what shall I say! For four months the whole country witnessed the spectacle of the venerable Lala Hansraj, a man as incapable of promoting disorder as any member sitting at this table—with other gentlemen equally respectable, rotting in the lock-up on a charge of inciting to violence and conspiring against the Crown! My Lord, it will be long before the memory of the sufferings of these men is wiped from the public mind. Meanwhile, the country is waiting to see how the authorities deal with those who brought these sufferings on them by producing evidence which the trying Magistrate has pronounced to be 'most untrustworthy and probably fabricated'! My Lord, with these things happening in the country, is it any wonder that the voice of those who counsel patience and moderation and self-restraint should be for the time at a discount among their countrymen? The occurrences of the last six months have afforded ample encouragement to those who like to talk strongly and do not occasionally mind talking wildly."

In June 1908, the Government passed the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act VII which gave power to local authority to take judicial action against the editor of any paper which indulged in writings calculated to incite rebellion. Nine prosecutions were instituted under this Act, and as a result, seven presses were confiscated: one press in Bombay, two in the Punjab and four in Bengal.

The Minto-Morley Reforms were adopted in 1909, and the same year the enlarged Legislative Council with a larger number of elected members came into existence. The hon'ble Sir S. P. Sinha (later Lord Sinha) was the first Indian to be appointed to the Viceroy's Council and legislators were permitted to move non-official resolutions on matters of general public interest, to discuss annual budgets and to put supplementary questions.

Close on the heels of the reforms came Act I of 1910 to provide for the better control of the Press. Indian members of the Viceroy's Council were all opposed to the measure and it seemed at the time that Sir S. P. Sinha would resign from the Law Membership of the Government of India in protest. On the 24th January 1910, a police officer was shot dead by an anarchist immediately outside the Calcutta High Court. This turned the tide in favour of the Act and after ineffectual attempts to secure its amendment one of which suggested its limitation to three years, the Act was passed, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Bhupendra Nath Basu opposing the measure in the final vote.

When Gokhale returned to Bombay, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta took him roundly to task for having supported the measure and maintained firmly that the non-official members had no business to lend their support to such a retrograde measure, notwithstanding the plea of necessity and the evidence produced in support of it by the Government. It was Pherozeshah Mehta's contention that a Government which had refused to accept the advice of the leaders of the people on matters of policy could hardly expect them to share the responsibility and odium of repressive legislation. Pherozeshah Mehta's attitude was borne out by actual experience of the application of the Act, and when the Seditious Meetings Bill came up for consideration in 1911, Gokhale denounced the ruthless manner in which the Act had been applied in violation of all assurances.

Neither Gokhale nor any of the other Indian non-official members was enthusiastic about the Act. Coming as it did at a psychological moment, the murder of the police officer in Calcutta swung the vote. Even in supporting the measure, Indian members warned the Government that the remedy for the unrest in the country was not suppression of criticism of the Government but the initiation and pursuit of a generous policy of reconciliation. Gokhale made particular reference to the provocations in the Anglo-Indian Press which, because it stood by the Government in all the unpopular measures that it adopted, had come to be regarded by the Indian newspaper-reading public as official organs. "The terms of race arrogance and contempt in which some of these papers constantly speak of the Indians, and specially of educated Indians," Gokhale said, "cut into the mind more than the lash can cut into the flesh. Many of my countrymen imagine that every Anglo-Indian pen that writes in the Press is dipped in Government ink. It is an absurd idea but it does great harm all the same." While giving his assent to the Bill, Gokhale urged the Government to use the power it was assuming with the utmost care and caution. But once the Bill became law, caution was thrown to the winds and it was applied foolishly and indiscriminately. A list of newspapers proceeded against under the Act and those which had to close down as a result is given separately. (Appendix II).

Six months later, Gokhale condemned the use of the Act in no uncertain terms. Speaking on the Bill for the continuance of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act 1907 on August 6, he said:

> "If ever there was a measure which should have been administered with the utmost care and tact and restraint, it was the Press Act passed last session at Calcutta. This was necessary to avoid all needless irritation. It was also due to those non-official Members of this Council who, in their desire not to add to the difficulties and anxieties with which the Government were then confronted, tried to go as far as they could in support of the measure. I grieve to say, however, that in most Provinces these obvious considerations have not been kept in view in working the Act. I will not now refer to those cases in which security was demanded from old concerns when they presented themselves for a mere formal change in their registration, in spite of distinct pledges to the contrary given both in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and in the speeches of Members of Government in this Council. It was no doubt the result of what must be regarded as defective drafting, and I am glad to note that it has now been set right to a great extent by executive action on the part of Government. But there have been cases in which heavy securities have been demanded from old concerns without specifying what their offence was, and for some time past a regular sedition-hunt has been going on in some of the Provinces."

It would appear that not much attention was paid to this appeal and speaking on the same Bill on March 20, 1911, Gokhale again lodged an emphatic protest:—

"We were assured, both in private conversations and in the speeches of Members of the Government in this Council, that the law would be applied only to extreme cases, that the past would be wiped off the slate, and that the measure would be enforced only in the case of new and serious offences. And in waiving our opposition to the measure, we permitted ourselves to believe that the remedy would be tried in that spirit. As soon, however, as the Bill was passed, Magistrates in all parts of the country started enforcing the provisions in the harshest manner, and the worst cases occurred, I am sorry to say, in my own province, Bombay. For the most paltry reasons, security came to be demanded, with the result that even thoughtful men, who deplored the excesses of the Press turned violently against those who had stood by the Government in the matter."

Gokhale's protests were, however, in vain and the obnoxious measure remained on the Statute Book until 1922, when as a result of the recommendations of the Sapru Committee, the Newspapers (Incitement of Offences) Act of 1908 and the Press Act of 1910 were repealed.

In the budget session of the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911, Gokhale opposed the grant of a subsidy for an Indian language newspaper to be started in Bengal. It would appear that Narendranath Sen had agreed to, or himself mooted, a proposal whereby he would edit a newspaper in Calcutta subsidised by the Government and supporting Government policies. The amount of the subsidy promised by the Government was Rs. 65,000/-. In opposing the grant, Gokhale paid a tribute to Narendranath Sen but at the same time pointed out that he had undertaken a task which was beyond the power of any human being. Both the Government and the newspaper would be thoroughly discredited and there was the dangerous possibility of other provincial governments following suit with editors who had neither the prestige nor the qualifications of Sen. Surendranath Banerjea records in his '*A Nation in the Making*' that Narendranath Sen who had built up a reputation for himself as the fearless editor of the *Indian Mirror*, completely discredited himself by this act and died a disappointed and disillusioned man.

Gokhale's political activities, his careful study of all problems and his restrained criticism inspired a number of journals in Bombay. It was a curious fact that although Calcutta had more than one Indian-edited paper published in English—the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Indian Mirror* and the *Bengalee* to mention the leading ones—and Madras had the *Hindu*, and for a while the *Indian Patriot* and the *Madras Standard*, Bombay had no such newspaper of its own. Bombay had been politically active for some years before the Ilbert Bill controversy, yet the only English papers edited by Indians were the *Mahratta* of Poona, and the *Indian Spectator* of Bombay edited by B. M. Malabari, both of them weeklies. The *Bombay Samachar* was an all-Gujerati daily paper. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* and the *Rast Goftar*, also predominantly Gujerati, published a few columns of comments and news in English. All these papers were disinclined to support any serious political activity. It was in these circumstances, that Pherozeshah Mehta decided with the help of Jehangir Murzban to revive (1888) the *Advocate of India* which had already made an inauspicious start in 1886. It was restarted with the object of presenting Indian questions from the Indian point of view with moderation as well as independence. Help was readily forthcoming in Bombay as well as from outside and the prominent persons

mentioned are N. Gupta, G. Subramania Iyer, Harichandrai Bishandas, and B. J. Padshah. The paper made a lively start but owing to differences with Murzban, Pherozeshah Mehta severed his association with it. Although it still received assistance from him and Dinshaw Wacha, it continued alternately to pick up and languish and after a period of ineffectual existence, passed out of publication. It was only in 1913, two years before his death, that Pherozeshah Mehta was able to found a newspaper which showed promise of establishing itself—the *Bombay Chronicle* under the editorship of Benjamin Guy Horniman.

There was a reason why an Indian-owned and Indian-edited English daily newspapers did not flourish in Bombay. The *Times of India* under the editorship of Thomas Bennett and later of Lovat Fraser was perhaps the only Anglo-Indian paper to approach Indian questions from an Indian point of view. Bennett in particular was moved neither by the gust of passion nor pressure from any quarter. Lovat Fraser, although he maintained the traditions of the paper, was strongly moved by personal likes and dislikes, and was led into snap judgments which, on occasion, irritated Indian feeling. His opposition to Pherozeshah Mehta's election to the Bombay Municipal Corporation led to an irreparable breach between the two strong-minded personalities—a circumstance which led to the revival of the *Advocate of India* in 1888. It will also be remembered that the *Times of India* was amenable to Indian influence and inherited the traditions of the *Bombay Times* whose editor, George Buist, was dismissed at the instance of a meeting of the shareholders, convened by Nowroji Furdoonji. Furthermore, the foundations of the *Times of India* were laid by Robert Knight and its traditions were well established by the time Bennet handed over to Fraser. From its early days the *Times of India* carried a complete news service reflecting all points of view.

In 1890, a weekly paper devoted primarily to social reform was moved by K. Natarajan from Madras to Bombay. He was associated with the early beginnings of the *Hindu*. His progressive ideas on social reform brought him in contact, even while he was in Madras, with others in Bombay who thought as he did and at the time that G. Subramania Iyer gave up the *Hindu* to devote all his attention to the *Swadesamitran*, Natarajan moved over to Bombay with his weekly paper, the *Indian Social Reformer*, in response to the earnest invitation of many friends. In Bombay, he was actively associated with Malabari's *Indian Spectator* and with the *Times of India*. The association between Bennett and Natarajan was a very close one and the latter daily contributed to the editorial columns of the paper on current Indian problems of the day. The relationship between the *Times of India* and Natarajan continued unbroken through successive editorships until 1919. The *Indian Social Reformer* undertaken as a public service rather than a journalistic enterprise was edited by K. Natarajan for fifty years. It was maintained on his own limited resources and with the substantial aid of friends and in its best years was accepted as a guide on all political and social matters by the most eminent leaders and moulders of public opinion. Of the many incidents in the life of the *Reformer* there is one which illustrates the independence of the paper both of official as well as of public opinion. When Gokhale appeared before the Welby Commission in England, he made certain statements based on letters received from Poona on the plague operations in that city. The statements related to the conduct of British soldiers who were employed compulsorily to evacute infected

houses in Poona. Recalling this incident some years later, Natarajan said:—

"The persons who supplied Gokhale with the information, with the exception of Pandita Ramabai, refused to come forward to substantiate their allegations and he had no alternative in the circumstances except to withdraw and apologise for those allegations which had created a storm of indignation in England and in India. Gokhale's letter was evidently a long one as in the editorial comment I find it stated that it had to be cut short to bring it within the limits of the space available in the *Reformer*. In the course of that comment which was a lengthy one extending to three paragraphs, I wrote:—

"That Gokhale was made to feel that an explanation was at all required from him for his conduct, which, every honourable and honest man must admit, was the only honourable and honest course open to him, is another serious reflection on the character of those who took part or sympathised with the ill mannered and silly demonstration with which, it is said, a proposal to include Mr. Gokhale among the speakers in the last Congress at Amraoti was met."

"It was two years after this that I met Gokhale in Bombay for the first time. He spoke to me with warm feeling of this comment as a thing that he would never forget, of the *Reformer* having been the only journal which stood by him in his 'dark hour of trial'."

The *Reformer* supported Gokhale in his views on special representation for the minorities. Gokhale's view was that in the best interest of their public life and for the future of their land, Indians must first have elections on a territorial basis in which all communities, without distinction of race or creed, should participate and then special separate supplementary elections should be held to secure the fair and adequate representation of such important minorities as had received less than their full share in the general election. Gokhale was of the view that the claim that a community was important and should receive fair and adequate representation was entitled to the sympathetic consideration of all. But he was equally emphatic that if anyone urged that his community was specially important and should, therefore, receive representation in excess of its fair share, the undoubted and irresistable implication was that the other communities were comparatively inferior and should receive less than their fair share. He appealed to the British Government not to go back on the repeated pledges given, from time to time, of according equal treatment to all communities.

Natarajan's comment on Gokhale's uncompromising stand on this issue is illustrative of Gokhale's as well as his own views:—

"Gokhale mentioned in his speech that the Government of India's original proposals had been very much on these lines. This is confirmed by John Buchan in his "Lord Minto". "Minto," he writes, "desired to prevent the followers of Islam from becoming a rigid enclave divorced from the rest of Indian life." Both Gokhale and Mr. Buchan lay the blame for the scheme as it was actually adopted, upon Lord Morley's ignorant meddling which conceded a point on which Gokhale would make no compromise..........

"Gokhale's trust was belied by the decision of Government but all the same it is impossible to deny the justice and equity of Gokhale's attitude. The decision in this matter changed the whole basis of British rule which, as Gokhale said, was the perfect equality of all subjects without distinction of caste or creed. It is worthy of note that it was only after Gokhale and Sir Phirozeshah Mehta, who also was strongly opposed to excessive representation, passed away from the scene that the so-called Lucknow Pact accepting and endorsing the principle of excessive representation was framed at the instance, of all men, of the late Mr. Tilak!........

THE SUMACHAR HINDOOSTANI.

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LUCKNOW, MONDAY JANUARY 6, 1862.

Mofussil Subscription Rs. 10-12-0 *in advance*, or Rs. 1-1-0 monthly.

NOTICE.

MOFUSSIL SUBSCRIBERS TO THE *Sumachar Hindoostani* are requested to send one year's subscription in advance with postage, or they will be charged at the arrear rates Rs. 1-5 monthly.

All persons who have received the first copy of our Journal and are desirous of becoming subscribers are requested to apply to the Editor, *Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow*, where all communications post paid, are to be addressed.

THE RATES OF ADVERTISING in the *Sumachar Hindoostani* are :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Per line for the 1st and 2nd insertion, ...	0	3	0
Repetitions,...	0	2	0

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Per page, ...	20	0	0
Per column, ...	8	0	0
„ ½ Ditto, ...	5	0	0
„ ¼ Ditto, ...	3	0	0

All advertisements sent to our English Journal will be published free of cost in the Weekly Hindee.

No advertisement, however small, will be charged less than a Rupee.

NOTICE.

M. G. GHOSE & CO.,

PROPRIETORS.

HAVE OPENED A BULLOCK TRAIN DAK of late from Lucknow to Fyzabad, and request parties intending to traffic or go to Fyzabad, to send their goods or come to the firm of the above Company at Huzrutgunge, New Bazar.

3-ins.

MONEY MARKET.

Calcutta, 20th December, 1861.

GOVERNMENT LOANS.

		Per Cent.
4 Per Cent.,	Sa. Rs.	85 4 @ 85 8
4 Do. Transfer Stock.	Sa. Rs.	Nominal
4 Per Cent.,	Co's Rs.	86 12 @ 87 0
5 Per Cent. 56-57	Co's Rs.	99 0 @ 99 4
5½ Per Cent.,	Co's Rs.	106 0 @ 106 2

EXCHANGE ON LONDON

Bank Bills,...	2 0 5-8th @ 2 0 3-4th
Credits, ...	2 0 11-16 @ 2 1 3-4th
Documentary, ...	2 0 7-8th @ 2 1

POSTAL NOTICE.

THE HOURS of closing the Mails will again be altered, viz :—

The Mails for Allahabad, Benares, Calcutta, North West Provinces, Bombay, Punjaub, &c., &c., and the Districts of Oudh, will close at 5 P. M., daily.

The Anna a Mile Van will start daily at 4 P. M.

The Bullock Train will leave at 10 o'clock A. M.

D. MACKENZIE,
Post Master.

NOTICE.

INCOME TAX, ACT, SCHEDULES 1 AND 2.

Under the orders of the Governor General of India in Council, notice is hereby given that, except in the case of any person or persons to whom a special notice is issued, the assessment for the Income Tax for the year commencing from the 31st July 1861, under Schedules 1 and 2, Act XXXII. of 1860 (Income Tax Act,) will be the same as for last year ; provided that if any person object to such assessment, he may apply to the Assessor of his Division for the forms of Returns of profits or income under the said Schedules, and send in his Return thereof within two months from the date of this notice, and he will then be assessed on such Return under the said Act XXXII. of 1860.

By Order, &c.,
COLIN J. MACKENZIE,
Secy. to the Income Tax Commission.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 5th Dec., 1861.

TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

OVERLAND MAIL.

FIRST BULLETIN.

From Bombay 28th December, 1861.

Arrived Steamer *Orissa* from Suez and Aden, dates not given.

The following is taken from *Home News* of third December.

A British Mail steamer has been boarded by a American vessel of War and two of her passengers, Confederate Commissioners, seized and carried off. Great indignation in England.

Lord Lyons has been instructed to demand separation and apology. The seizure of the Commissioners has been applauded at New York.

A strong reinforcement of field Artillery; Armstrong Guns, Enfield Rifle, ammunition and other stores are to be transmitted immediately to Canada.

Government has interdicted by royal proclamation the further exportation of gun powder, saltpetre, nitrate of soda and brimstone.

The Mexican Government has offered to comply with all our demands, but the expedition of the allies will nevertheless carry out its intentions.

The sympathy of France is with England in the American question.

No further progress has been made by the Federal force which landed at Port Royal.

The arrival of Messrs. Slidell and Mason, the confederate Commissioners, at Fort Warren, Boston, is reported.

Mr. Jefferson Davis and Mr. Stephens have been elected President and vice President, for 6 years, of the Confederate States.

Four thousand Federal Troops have landed on the Eastern coast of Virginia and been well received.

Black flags have been hung out at Charleston and Savannah, to indicate no quarter.

SECOND BULLETIN.

Mr. Potter, the liberal candidate, has been returned for Carlisle by a majority of one, after a severe contest.

Mr. Mellor, M. P., has been appointed to the Puisne judgeship, vacated by the resignation of Mr. Justice Hall, the attorney General declined the office.

Garibaldi has arrived at Genoa. A popular demonstration was made in his honor. The offer by the Italian Government, of the Commander-in-Chief of the Volunteer Army to Garibaldi, is still under discussion.

An enthusiastic Meeting has been held in London on behalf of the Poles.

Prince Oscar of Sweden is about to visit the King of Italy.

The cup given to the Cambridge University Rifles by the Prince of Wales, has been won by Mr. Rose, the ex-champion of the Volunteers.

Major General William Booth has been gazetted Colonel of the 15th Foot.

Lord Canning has been appointed Ranger of Greenwick Park.

A Committee has been appointed to revise the regulation of Woolwich Academy.

The war risk on British vessels outward bound to India and China is half to three-quarter per cent. on vessels homeward bound one per cent. from India and one to two per cent. from China.

OBITUARY.—*In Her Majesty's Indian Service.*—G. R. Campbell Esq., late Bengal C. S.—*Miscellaneous.*—The Dowager Countess Grey.

W. GOODALL,
Offg. Assistant in Charge.

Government E. T. Office,
Lucknow, 28th December 1861.

17 *The Sumachar Hindoostani*: Lucknow, January 6, 1862

P.P. Allahabad

THE PIONEER.

Published every Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

Vol. I.] ALLAHABAD:—MONDAY, JANUARY 2, 1865. [No. 1.

Editorials—

The New Æra ... 1

War in Bhootan ... do.

Governments and Soldiers ... 2

The Grand Jury Question ... do.

Cotton in Assam, Cachar and Sylhet ... do.

Miscellaneous Intelligence ... 3

Summary of Indian News ... 3

Indian Correspondence—

For His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India ... 4

Rehabilitation of Invalids ... do.

Domestic Occurrences ... do.

Special Correspondence—

London ... do.

Selected Intelligence—

Calcutta Races ... 5

Indian Extracts ... 5

European Extracts ... do.

Advertisements ... 7

Commercial—

Money Market Report ... 12

Report on Indigo and Silk ... do.

The New Æra.—Without venturing upon any detailed or analytical retrospect of the year that has passed, it will not be inappropriate, when sending forth the first number of *The Pioneer* to the world, to consider briefly the peculiar characteristics of the present era and note those special points in which it differs from all bygone days. The picture is pregnant with instruction, and bright with the promise of better things.

It seems but yesterday, when, stricken with years, and full of honors, the venerable mistress of the East, the Vice-royal Lady of Leadenhall Street, passed away from among us as a tale that is told. Those who followed her in sorrow to the grave, and wept over her departed glories, were not more numerous than those who exulted in her demise and spoke bitter things over her ashes. The former lamented that the brightest days of British India had departed and all good government ceased for ever. The latter taunted the deceased with short-comings and sins which they believed to have alone retarded the progress of civilization and checked the prosperity of the country.

It is reserved for us, judging by the light of subsequent events, to discern in the downfall of the Company, simply the dissolution of a system which had performed its allotted part, and which was broken up only because its destiny was fulfilled; and thus it is, that with charitable, if not complacent feelings, we now look back upon the weaknesses of the past—the delusions of despotism, monopoly, official autocracy, and exclusiveness; a close Service and family protectorate; the jealousy of the interloper, and the terror of a Free Press: all these enormities, which we now justly and universally condemn, were as much *necessities* under the old *régime* as they are abominations now.

When, in the early infancy of the East India Company, a handful of Englishmen held millions of its dusky subjects under its sway, it was simply a necessity that the prestige of that small body of white faces should be preserved by artificial bulwarks. Impressed as barbarians always are, with the mystery of the unseen, they looked with awe upon the invisible power which sent forth men and ships so hardy and well-equipped, and it was sound policy to make them believe that this unseen power was the source of all they saw—that the administrators and soldiers who landed on their shores were but emanations from the great unknown, inferior Buddhas issuing forth from the great Adh Buddha of their adoration.

Hence the close Service, consisting of the limbs of the great trunk, the sons, cousins, and nephews of the twenty-four.

Hence, as a necessary sequence, the consuming jealousy of all outer interference, whether of zealous missionary or "raw-boned planter," whose independence might serve to dispel the illusion, and teach Caliban to despise his master.

Hence also the horror and consternation raised by the bare idea of a *Free Press*, whose attacks or criticisms might rend the veil from the temple and expose the naked deity within.

It were an easy task thus to trace to its source every anomaly or abuse of the Company's administration, and, if space permitted, the task would be profitable, as teaching us, while we remember with admiration the many virtues of the great departed, to tread lightly on her grave, and spare to upbraid her for the sins of her youth. Condemnation should be reserved for those only who, when times and circumstances have changed, persist, in spite of light and warning, in defending abuses for which there is no longer reasonable excuse, and strive to uphold abominations which all the rest of the world condemns. It was this infatuation which hastened the demise of the Company. The system which, for years before, had begun to be unsavory in the nostrils of the wise, culminated in a rebellion, and was in itself swept away in the *débris* of a ruin idiotically ignored.

Let the dead bury their dead. It is our happy duty to point to these more hopeful days, to expose what yet remains of ancient delusion and venerable abuse, to point to the new path of progress which is now open before us, and strive, as far as in us lies, to remove obstructions and make straight the way. Never before, in the history of British India, have we witnessed so marvellous a combination of auspicious circumstances as those which usher in this year of grace.

In the first place, we rejoice in the rule of a Viceroy, not chosen for his rank, his connexions, or the friendship of a minister, but one whom all India has, by acclamation, welcomed as alike from varied experience, indomitable will, and Christian character, undeniably the man best qualified to rule this magnificent Vice-royalty.

Passing from the Viceroy to the Imperial Council, we find equal cause for congratulation and hope. We find the legal member, from whose brain we naturally expect all legislative reforms to emanate, not only a man of singular ability, but (*malgré* his aberration in the matter of the Grand Jury, not yet, we trust, beyond repair) a statesman of great liberality, with a mind strikingly free from those antiquated prejudices which have so long proved an obstruction to the progress of the country. The Bills which Mr. Maine has lately introduced, and which space forbids us here to enumerate, each and all contain provisions of great practical utility, and are characterised by strict impartiality towards all classes. While his bold and uncompromising denunciation of the fallacy of the Black Acts entitles him to the lasting gratitude of every Englishman in India, the effect of his comprehensive and truly liberal ideas is already apparent in the altered sentiments of his colleagues. Even Sir Charles Trevelyan has caught the infection, and mentions the non-official world without a sneer.

While, then, we congratulate ourselves on these important political changes, we find equally significant and gratifying facts wherever we turn. Our finances are prosperous, and a surplus is considered a yearly certainty; the income tax, or tax upon honesty, is about to be removed, and the circulation of money is facilitated by a paper and gold currency; new codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure have taken the place of a confused and scattered heap of regulations; the practical administration of justice, under the able and zealous supervision of Sir Barnes Peacock, (in spite of the marked incompetency of some of the High Court judges, trained and untrained,) has been steadily improving; arrears have been cleared off; abuses of the lower courts have been to some extent rectified; the scandalous practice of the examination of witnesses by under-paid clerks, far from the eye of the judge, with other discreditable usages, has been peremptorily prohibited; Small Cause Courts, rendered for a time inefficient by the ill-judged arrangements of the Bengal Executive, have still, in the long run, proved a blessing to the community; and a fruitful source of litigation has been dammed up by the partial abolition of appeals; the great question of the relative rights of landlord and tenant, capital and labor, has been to some extent adjusted by the authoritative interpretation of the more obnoxious clauses; the honest man is now protected, and rascality crippled by the Registration Act, which comes to-day into operation; and lastly, in spite of maudlin remonstrances, and the puerile protest of the British Indian Association, we have learned to whip our lighter criminals, instead of permanently corrupting them at the cost of the State.

And if this is a true, though brief and most imperfect sketch of our Political and Administrative position, what shall we say of material progress? of the gradual but steady intersection of the rich provinces of British India by the multiplied links of the great iron chain, destined, ere long, to girdle the world—of feeders, tramways, and canals, and the thin blue wire which defies distance?

If History teaches us that commercial prosperity is the forerunner of national greatness, what grounds have not we for confidence, when we witness the daily extension of commercial enterprise, waste lands reclaimed, new products discovered and utilized, the howling wilderness smiling with culture, railway waggons overflowing with merchandise, and railway platforms crammed with bales which the trains are unable to convey—when we see the broad sheets of the *Englishman* crammed with advertisements of large banks, with an aggregate capital of millions; while joint-stock companies, those grand channels for the collection and redistribution of capital, and the most effective instruments for the furtherance of national enterprise, are rising around us, giving undoubted assurance (whatever minor evils may for a time follow in their train) of commercial progress and general activity. In sober truth, events and changes have, during the last few years, crowded on each other with such marvellous rapidity, that we feel almost bewildered when we attempt to follow them in detail. It is impossible, however, even on a cursory retrospect, not to be struck with the *general* view of prosperity and, if we may so term it, preparedness, which presents itself to our eyes—a full Treasury, an earnest and able Viceroy, a wise Legislature, an unfettered Press, an intelligent and daily increasing public, unprecedented commercial prosperity, an open Service, enlightened codes of Judicial Procedure, a reformed Judiciary. When we calmly contemplate these things, and reflect on the source from which these materials of natural greatness have been supplied, we cannot resist the conviction that a great work of civilization is before us, in which England and the English are to be both pioneers and actors; and while we yield to this conviction, we cannot but feel that every portion of the Administration and community, like the several parts of a machine, has each its allotted task assigned to it by Providence.

If the Viceroy, the Legislature, and the Executive are loaded with arduous duties and large responsibilities, so also every individual Englishman, the public generally, and, above all, the Press, have duties proportionally important and responsibilities proportionally grave.

Under this solemn conviction, we now occupy our own small niche in the machinery of this mighty empire.

War in Bhootan.—We have received several letters from the Bhootan force, which, however, hardly contain news of importance enough to demand publication *in extenso*.

Our little war, though not exactly waged with rose-water, seems to be progressing very delicately. Our troops are already in possession of three of the principal Passes—Dalimkote, Bala Dooar and Buxa Dooar; the only one of any great consequence remaining being Dewangiri. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say when the war will be over, certainly not with the present campaign. The very apathy of the Bhootanese in permitting us so easily to take possession of their Dooars, makes us apprehend that they may be as slow to realise the necessity of yielding as of fighting. They hold positions where a little resistance would baulk an army. It is quite clear, from the sites chosen for their forts and stockades, that they are not ignorant of the strength furnished by the nature of their country. From their neglecting such facilities for resistance, it is probable that they have another policy. They seem disposed to leave us their rocks and forests for a few months to work our will on. But then, they hope, their turn will come. We must evacuate, they suppose, at the approach of the hot weather. They will then descend from their mountains, resume their Dooars, and all will be as it was, except that our *protégés* will have their heads cut off.

From all accounts received, the country is the most difficult an army ever passed through. No extended operations of any kind could ever be made in the plains, owing to the density of the forest; and the troops are obliged to wend their way in Indian file through weary miles of almost impenetrable jungle—the only thing in their favour being, that it is just as impassable for the enemy as it is for them. From accounts received, it would be impossible to have skirmishing parties or flankers, unless mounted on elephants, and it would take an army of these to carry the required number of men.

We have seen a letter from an officer with one of the columns, who writes, that if he could get four hundred elephants, five hundred Ghoorkhas, and two Armstrong guns, he is confident that he could range throughout the country without a check, and carry all the stockades as soon as he could reach them; so impossible would it be for the enemy to obtain timely notice of his approach. Indeed, it is possible that some such novel mode of warfare would best meet the novel difficulties of this scene of war.

The country itself appears to be magnificent in scenery, and, if brought under cultivation, would probably be valuable too. It is reported that the fields of cotton are very fine, and, when more scientifically worked, they would no doubt give splendid results.

At present the whole region is infested with wild animals, (tigers, rhinoceros and elephants,) against which such precautions must be taken as anywhere else would argue ludicrous timidity. But the first thing to be done is to make roads through the country; but it is indeed here the *premier pas qui coûte*; for, what with the forest and with the innumerable streams which intersect it, *he* will truly be *Pontifex maximus* who shall first make it practicable for a wheeled carriage.

The inhabitants of the plains are said to be a fine race, chiefly "Garrows" and "Mechs," who would be charmed to exchange the Bhootanese rule for ours, if only they could believe ours permanent.

Apart from the loss occasioned by the sad accident at Dalimkote, our casualties hitherto may almost be counted by units. General Dunsford's column was encamped on the 24th, in the bed of the Toorsa, not far from magnificent orange groves. Indeed, the timber is every where enough to excite a railway-sleeper contractor's soul to rapture by its size, only to sink it into despair by its inaccessibility.

The Pioneer: Allahabad, January 2, 1865

P.P Allahabad

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OR

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Calendar, 1st Week—July 1866.

Date.	Lunations.	H. M. S.	Sun.	H. M. S.		H. M. S.
5	Last Quarter ...	9 2 16	Rises,	5 18 36	Sets,	6 40 36
12	New Moon ...	5 8 58	„	5 20 12	„	6 39 24
19	First Quarter ...	8 24 32	„	5 21 48	„	6 37 48
27	Full Moon ...	7 37 28	„	5 24 12	„	6 34 36

1	G.	5 Sunday after Trinity ...	1 Sam.	15	Luke	13	1 Sam.	17	Phil.	1
2	M.	Visit of Virgin Mary ...	Prov.	13	„	14	Prov.	14	„	2
3	Tu.	... ...	„	15	„	15	„	16	„	3
4	W.	Tr. of St. Mart. B. and C.,	„	17	„	16	„	18	„	4
5	Th.	Old Mids.-Day ...	„	19	„	17	„	20	Col.	1
6	Fri	... ...	„	21	„	18	„	22	„	2
7	Sa.	... ...	„	23	„	19	„	24	„	3
8	G.	... ...	2 Sam.	12	„	20	2 Sam.	19	„	4

Ourselves.

We come before the Christian community of India with this our first number of the *Southern Cross*, in the belief and hope that it may be the means of serving the Church of Christ in this country.

We desire to avoid, as far as may be possible, all controversial questions, which the state of the Church in India renders it unnecessary to enter upon.

Where so many of our fellow-Christians are living without the means of grace, all who believe that there is none other name under Heaven whereby we must be saved, than the name of the Lord Jesus, will be able to unite heart and soul in extending to others the blessings they enjoy, without discussing details, regarding which good and earnest men may at times differ.

Where so many millions are living around us in ignorance of the Holy Name, all who love that Name in sincerity will desire above all things that it should be heard and revered throughout the length and breadth of this land.

Having, then, an earnest wish to do the work of our Lord and Master, we feel confidence that, by His blessing upon our labours, we shall be guided to conduct this paper in a spirit of Christian love, which shall unite men of many shades of opinion in a work from which causes of contention shall be excluded, and of which the constant object shall be the promotion of the welfare of the Church of Christ.

At the same time we must not allow it to be supposed that we hold, or will advocate, any other principles than those which are held and accepted by the Church of England, but holding them steadfastly, we will earnestly strive after charity, the greatest of all Christian virtues, without which, indeed, we can hope for no life to our work.

One of the great disadvantages under which we labor in India is isolation, and the consequent difficulty of knowing what is being done by others. We hope that this paper may help to extend the benefits which are now confined to comparatively small circles, by making generally known the labours and successes of those who are working in remote or secluded districts.

In England there are not only numerous publications which form the medium of intercommunication between those who are engaged in the same pursuits, but there are also periodical meetings, at which subjects of general interest are brought under discussion, and thus every person present derives the benefit of the collective experience and intelligence of the whole assembly.

In India such aids are seldom attainable; each has to work, to the best of his judgment and ability, but can derive no assistance from his fellow-labourers, who are separated from him by distances, which render personal communication almost impossible.

Correspondence involves a sacrifice of time which cannot always be spared, and a labor which in an enervating climate is a severe strain upon energies already overtasked. To those then who desire to make known to others any thing from which they have desired benefit, or to obtain the advice of those who have had greater experience, or to receive the consolation and support of imparting their difficulties and disappointments to those who can sympathize with them, the columns of the *Southern Cross* will afford the means of accomplishing their wishes.

Where works of charity languish from want of support, the *Southern Cross* will be the means of making the want known, and possibly of enlisting the aid of many who, while possessing the means and the will to help forward any good work, would otherwise have continued in ignorance that succour was needed.

অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা

সাপ্তাহিক

১খণ্ড। | ৯ই ফাল্গুন বৃহস্পতিবার ১২৭৪ সাল। ২০ই ফেব্রুয়ারি ১৮৬৮ খৃঃ অব্দ। | ১ সংখ্যা।

অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা।

৯ই ফাল্গুন। বৃহস্পতিবার।

আপনার পরিচয় আপনি দেওয়া বিষম বিপদ, এই জন্য বোধহয় পূর্ব্বকালে ভদ্রলোকের পরিচয় ভাটেরা দিত। সংবাদ পত্র সম্পাদকেরদের নিকট এটী ক্ষেত্রতত্ত্বের পঞ্চম প্রতিজ্ঞা। এই দায় হইতে একবার কোন প্রকারে উদ্ধার হইতে পারিলে আর অধিক চিন্তার বিষয় থাকেনা; এক প্রকার করিয়া কাগজ পূর্ণ করিয়া দিতে পারিলেই হয়।

অনেকে গ্রন্থ লিখিয়া ভূমিকায় ব্যক্ত করেন যে তাঁহাদের গ্রন্থ লিখিবার কারণ বন্ধুগণের, কি স্বদেশের আদেশ। কিন্তু আমরা মুক্তকণ্ঠে স্বীকার করিতেছি, যে অ . . ত্রিকা প্রকাশ বিষয়ে স্বপ্নও দেখিনাই, বন্ধুকর্ত্তৃক আদিষ্টও হই নাই। আমরা আপনারাই অনেক তর্ক বিতর্ক করিয়া পরিশেষে এই দুরূহ কার্য্যে প্রবর্ত্ত হইয়াছি।

দেশের হিত সাধন করা আমাদের উদ্দেশ্য আছে কি না তাহা বলিতে পারি না, উদ্দেশ্য থাকিলেও বলিতে সাহস হয় না, কারণ দেশের মঙ্গল সাধন করিবার নাম করিয়া নানা বিধ লোক দেশের এত অমঙ্গল ঘটাইতেছে যে আপনাদিগকে সেই দলস্থ বলিয়া পরিচয় দেওয়া গৌরব মনে করিনা. তবে যে স্থান হইতে এই পত্রিকা বাহির হইতেছে, তাহার পশ্চিমে ও উত্তরে ৩ দিনের পথ, পূর্ব্বে দেড় দিবসের ও দক্ষিণে ৩ দিবসের পথ পর্য্যন্ত একটীও মুদ্রা যন্ত্র নাই; সুতরাং সংবাদ পত্র থাকাও অসম্ভব, এমত স্থলে এ পত্রিকা দ্বারা কিছু উপকার প্রত্যাশা করা যাইতে পারে কি কেমন বহুদর্শী ব্যক্তিরা বলিতে পারেন।

এই পত্রিকাতে কি কি বিষয় লিখিত হইবে তাহার তালিকা দেওয়ার দুইটী আপত্তি আছে; প্রথমতঃ জানিনা এক্ষণ যেরূপ প্রতিজ্ঞা করি, ভবিষ্যতে তাহা পালন করিতে পারি কি না; দ্বিতীয়তঃ পাছে একটি একটি করিয়া লিখিলে আত্মশ্লাঘার প্রকাশ হয়। আবার নিতান্ত নম্রতা দেখাইতেও ভয় হয়, কি জানি পাছে আমাদের কথা বিশ্বাস করিয়া পত্রিকাটী সকলে ঘৃণা করেন।

কিন্তু রীতি আছে, ব্যবসায়ীরা আপনাদের পণ্যদ্রব্য প্রশংসা করিয়া থাকে ও তাহাতে লোকের নিকট নিন্দনীয় হয়না। হলোওয়ে সাহেব বরাবর জগৎ ব্যাপিয়া রাষ্ট্র করিয়া আসিতেছেন যে তাঁহার বটিকা ও মলমের তুল্য ঔষধ পৃথিবীর কোথায় কখন জন্মে নাই, অথচ তাহাকে আত্মশ্লাঘি বলিয়া কেহ বিদ্রূপ করেনা। আমাদেরও এটী ব্যবসায়, সুতরাং আমাদের এসম্বন্ধে দুটি একটী কথা কহিলে উল্লিখিত রীত্যনুসারে বোধ হয় দোষ বলিয়া গণ্য হইবেনা।

আমরা মনস্থ করিয়াছি, যে এতদ্দেশীয় ও ইউরোপীয় বিবিধ সংবাদ, নূতন আইনের মর্ম্ম, ব্রিটিশ ও এদেশস্থ অন্যান্য রাজ্যের শাসন প্রণালী, ও তাহাদের পরস্পরের তুলনা প্রভৃতি পত্রিকায় প্রকটিত করিব। আমাদের বিশেষ যত্ন থাকিবে যেন যে স্বার্থশূন্য মহাত্মা ইংরাজ বাহাদুরেরা আমাদের দেশ, পরম আহ্লাদিত মনে অধিকার হইতে স্বীয় হস্তে রাখিয়া, আমাদের এত উন্নতি করিয়াছেন—যাঁহারা কেবল মাত্র আমাদের হিত ও স্বচ্ছন্দতার নিমিত্ত, রাজ্য শাসনের ন্যায় অতি ক্লেশকর ও কঠিন কার্য্যে আমাদিগকে হস্ত ক্ষেপণ করিতে দেননা, তাঁহাদিগের রীতি নীতি, উদ্দেশ্য, স্বার্থশূন্যতা, ও কৌশল যথাসাধ্য বর্ণনা করিয়া তাঁহাদিগের নিকট যে ঋণ-পাশে আবদ্ধ আছি, তাহা পরিশোধের যত্ন করি।

আমাদের পত্রিকার তাহার কুৎসা ও নিন্দা যে থাকিবেনা এরূপ বলিতে পারিনা. ও এক্ষণে প্রতিজ্ঞা করে পরে কথা রক্ষা করিতে পারিব না, কারণ তাহা হইলে ভূমণ্ডলের সমুদয় সম্পাদক একত্রিত হইয়া আমাদিগকে সমাজচ্যুত ও একঘরিয়া করিবেন। বিশেষতঃ গালি ও নিন্দা সংবাদ পত্রের জীবন, শুদ্ধ সংবাদ পত্র কেন, গালি ও নিন্দা চর্চা রহিত করিলে মনুষ্যের মধ্যে পরস্পরের কথোপকথনও রহিত হইবার সম্ভাবনা। একথা নিতান্ত অসঙ্গত নয়, যে অপরের নিন্দাচর্চা না করিলে তবে পত্রিকা বাহির করার প্রয়োজন কি?

অনেক প্রকার কটু আস্বাদক, কেবল অন্যের কটু কথা কি শ্রবণ ব্যতীত। আমরা কটু বাক্য প্রয়োগ করিতে যে রূপ তৎপর, গ্রহণ করিতেও সেই রূপ তৎপর থাকিলাম। পাঠক, মনে রাখিও, এই কটু বাক্য যেন চিকিৎসকের অস্ত্রের ন্যায় তীক্ষ্ণ ও পূর্ণ উপকারক হয়।

আমরা স্থানে স্থানে সংবাদ দাতা নিযুক্ত করিয়াছি, সুতরাং প্রত্যাশা করি, যে পাঠক বৃন্দকে দেশ বিদেশের সুন্দর সংবাদ দিতে পারিব। এবং নিশ্চিত বলিতে পারি, যে যতদিন আবিসিনিয়ার যুদ্ধ, ফিনিয়ান্ দিগের গোলযোগ শেষ না হয়, তত দিন সংবাদাবলী দ্বারা আমাদের পত্রিকা সুসজ্জিত করিবার কোন চিন্তা থাকিবেনা। কিন্তু সম্পাদকদিগের দুর্ভাগ্য ক্রমে যদি এ সমুদয় ক্ষান্ত হইয়া যায়, আর নূতন কোন রাজবিদ্রোহ, ঝটিকা জলপ্লাবন প্রভৃতি উপস্থিত না হয়, তখন আমারদিগকে কিছু বিপদে পড়িতে হইবে সন্দেহ নাই। একপ দায়ে যদি পড়ি, তবুন আমরা সংবাদ প্রস্তুত করিতে ত্রুটী করিবনা, ও অমি কোন সম্পাদকের অনুসরণ.

অমৃতবাজার পত্রিকার প্রথম সংখ্যার প্রথম পৃষ্ঠার প্রতিলিপি

Amrita Bazar Patrika: Calcutta, February 20, 1868

"Gokhale visualised Indian Politics as the task especially and exclusively of the educated classes who had on the one side the huge mass of ignorance and illiteracy of the people to redeem and on the other to obtain from an able and powerful bureaucracy practical and substantial recognition of their right to direct the policies and shape the administration of the country................

"He laid down two essential conditions of constitutional agitation—the methods adopted should be legitimate and the changes desired should be obtained only through the action of constituted authorities by bringing to bear on them the pressure of public opinion. Three things were excluded—namely, rebellion, aiding or abetting a foreign invasion, and resort to crime. He went on to say:

'Roughly speaking, barring these three things, all else was constitutional. No doubt everything that was constitutional was not necessarily wise or expedient but that was a different matter. Prayers and appeals to justice lay at one end. Passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till redress was obtained, lay at the other end.'

This is how Gokhale conceived constitutional agitation and I like to lay special emphasis on it as I fear that Liberal leaders now-a-days are not always in touch with the first principles of the constitutional creed."

The *Reformer* continued to be published till April 1953 but K. Natarajan retired from its editorship in 1941 in favour of his son, S. Natarajan, who had already worked on the paper for many years.

CHAPTER XIV

TILAK, RANADE AND GOKHALE—*contd.*

Tilak's encounter with Ranade in 1895, marked the beginning of a stormy career; an intrepid fighter, he asked for no quarter, and spared neither the Government nor political opponents.

In 1896, a famine broke out in the Bombay Presidency. Tilak rendered useful service by opening cheap grain shops in Poona, and in Sholapur and Nagpur, he organised a system of relief work in collaboration with the Government. He fought the plague that broke out in Poona later; when others fled he remained at his post, organised a hospital and, in the columns of his papers, commended to the people the anti-plague measure adopted by the Government. He found time to revive and stimulate public memory of Shivaji and started a movement for the repair of his tomb at Raighar and for the annual celebration of Shivaji Day. On June 22, 1897, Captain Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst were murdered. The Chaphekar brothers were arrested tried, convicted and executed. They were the founders of what was claimed to be a revolutionary association. Two other persons murdered the informers and were themselves arrested, tried and executed.

The Government of Bombay sanctioned the prosecution of Tilak for certain articles written in the *Kesari* on the ground that it amounted to incitement. Tilak was arrested in Bombay and the Chief Presidency Magistrate turned down the bail application. He was brought to his trial before Justice Tyabji where a renewed application for bail by Davar (later Justice) was granted. Tilak was defended by Arthur Pugh of Calcutta and Davar. The jury consisted of six Europeans and three Indians. Tilak was found guilty by a majority of six to three and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. No appeal was allowed but a petition from Professor Max Muller and Sir William Hunter prayed for his release, and Tilak was released in September 1898 on his agreeing to certain formal conditions. He spent six months in the Sinhgad sanatorium but even while he was there, he agreed to be the executor of the will of Sri Baba Maharaj and got involved in the famous Tai Maharaj Case in which he was charged with corruption, perjury and forgery. He was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment but the conviction was quashed by the High Court and he was discharged completely exonerated. This kept Tilak busy till the end of 1904, and in the following year, which was also the year of the Partition of Bengal, Tilak returned to politics. He was responsible for the declaration of boycott as a lawful weapon by the Banaras Congress of 1905 (presided over by Gopal Krishna Gokhale) and the resolution on Swaraj, boycott, swadeshi and national education at the Calcutta Session in the following year (Dadabhai Nowroji). The final break came at Surat (1907) between the nationalists led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, G. S. Khaparde, Aurobindo Ghose, H. Mukerjee and B. C. Chatterjee and the official congress composed of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, Surendranath Banerjee, Gokhale, and Pherozeshah Mehta. The

reverberations of the Surat split were felt throughout India and authoritative but conflicting accounts were published in all sections of the Press, and a new spirit pervaded the country.

While in this period there was no press legislation as such, a number of measures were taken which roused public feeling. By a notification dated June 25, 1891, the Government of India, Foreign Department, restricted the right of the Press in Indian States in the following terms:

"Whereas some misapprehension has hitherto existed as to the regulations in force in territory under the administration of the Governor-General in Council, but beyond the limits of British India, with reference to newspapers published within such territory, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to make the following orders:—

1. No newspaper or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing public news or comments on public news shall, without the written permission for the time being in force of the Political Agent, be edited, printed or published after 1st August, 1891 in any local area administered by Governor-General in Council but not forming part of British India.

2. If this is contravened, the Political Agent may by order in writing,
   (a) Require him to leave such local area within seven days from the date of such orders,
   (b) and prohibit him from re-entering such local area without the written permission of the Political Agent.

3. Disobedience of orders mentioned in the last foregoing paragraph shall make one liable to forcible expulsion."

This was followed by discrimination in grades between Indians and Europeans in the Education Service and exclusion of Indians from certain posts, the lowering of their status and a further reduction in the scale of their salaries (1893). The same year saw the introduction of the Exchange Compensation Allowance for European officers. Section 124A was re-drafted and section 153A was added to the Penal Code and section 505 was amended (1897). Reference has already been made to the trial of Tilak for sedition under the new Act. Although he was released in the following year, and the Natu Brothers who had been sentenced to deportation, were released the year after, the arrests had created a sensation in Bengal. Motilal Ghose had been sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000/- to one Mr. Hoff who was a cooly emigration agent in Cawnpore (1901). Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, between 1899 to 1905, had not helped to allay public feeling and with the Government notification in July 1905 announcing the partition of Bengal to be effected on October 14 of the same year, the stage was set for widespread trouble. Other measures were the Colonisation Bill in the Punjab and the Officials Secrets Act, the Press Measures Act and the Universities Act for the whole country.

The people were lined up to demonstrate their grievances and Government was preparing for repression. In 1906, Sir Bamfylde Fuller, Lieutenant Governor of partitioned East Bengal prohibited the cry of *Bande Mataram* in public. The Barisal conference was due to be held in the April of that year. The delegates decided that they would raise the prohibited cry by taking the President in procession to the Conference pavilion. The Police intervened before the procession could be formed and dispersed with lathis those who had assembled. The procession was nevertheless, held to the accompaniment cf shouts of *Bande Mataram.*

Before the conference assembled the next morning, a prohibitory order was served on the participants under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The order was disregarded.

When Lord Minto succeeded Lord Curzon, he inherited a turbulent situation and tried to meet it by widening the scope of the Official Secrets Act, the Public Meetings Act, the Press Act, the Sedition Law, the Explosives Act, and the Seditious Meetings Act. There were issued besides, a number of ordinances and circulars abridging the right of free speech and free criticism, Repression was at its height.

The other (official) point of view is recorded in the "Cambridge History of India":—

"Tilak was prosecuted for exciting disaffection to the Government by means of the *Kesari* articles of 15 June, and was convicted and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, six months of which were subsequently remitted. The *Kesari,* however, continued to circulate.................. Nowhere did Tilak's methods and organizations attract more attention than in Bengal. His influence is plainly to be seen in the accompaniments of the subsequent revolutionary movement in that province. His example in brigading school-boys and students in gymnastic societies for purposes of political agitation was followed, there. Endeavours were even made to introduce into Bengal, the very province which in pre-British days had been scourged by Maratha raids, the singularly inappropriate cult of Sivaji. On his return from incarceration Tilak found his position unimpaired, but for some years he remained quiet. The circulation of the *Kesari* increased. He was biding his time.. Hindu Political sentiment reached an unprecedented height of bitterness, and found ample outlet in the press which it mainly controlled. Under cover of a storm of passion, the revolutionists organised secret societies, collected arms, and manufactured bombs. But their main objective was the 'building up' of popular opinion, the creation of a general atmosphere favourable to their schemes. They published newspapers and leaflets which preached violence and omitted no calumny which could vilify the British race. To get rid of the European was a religious duty. India whose civilization had been tarnished and corrupted first by Muslim and then by British cruelty and oppression, would then recover her ancient glory. Such exhortations were frequently supported by gross perversions of history."

The stage was set for trouble and trouble came in plenty. In December 1907, a bomb explosion at Midnapur derailed the train in which Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor, was travelling. In the same month, the District Magistrate at Dacca was shot in the back at a railway station; but he was not fatally injured. In April the following year, at Muzaffarpur in Bihar, a bomb was thrown into a carriage in which the Kennedys, mother and daughter were killed. The bomb was intended for Kingsford, a judge. A student and one other were arrested. The student confessed in court and was executed while his accomplice shot himself dead.

Simultaneously, there was trouble in the Punjab and riots broke out at Lahore and Rawalpindi. In Madras, there were disturbances after a series of public lectures delivered by Bepin Chandra Pal and from the United and Central Provinces came reports of seditious writings and secret organisations. In London, one Shyamaji Krishnavarma, son of a Kathiawar merchant, was publishing a paper, the *Indian Sociology.* He set up a meeting place called "India House" and in July 1909, Sir William Curzon Wylie, and Dr. Lalkaka who attempted to save him, were shot dead by a young student called Madanlal Dingra. Throughout 1907, and in the early part of 1908, Tilak pursued his campaign through the columns of

the *Kesari* in Poona and the *Desha Sewak* of Nagpur and delivered a number of speeches. In the middle of 1908, the Government passed the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act VII which empowered the authorities to take judicial action against the editor of any newspaper which published matter which, in the view of Government, amounted to incitement to rebellion. Simultaneously, the Governor of Bombay made a declaration in the Legislative Council at Poona, that the Government were determined to put down seditious agitators in the province. A few days later, Tilak went to Bombay to assist a friend, S. M. Paranjpe, editor of the *Kal*, who was under trial for seditious writing. S. M. Paranjpe was an ardent admirer and active supporter of Tilak and was a writer of outstanding ability. His writings fired the imagination of Mahratta youth. Sri V. D. Savarkar, the great revolutionary leader, and his group considered S. M. Paranjpe as their "Guru". Special features of S. M. Paranjpe's writings were sarcasm, banter, humour and ridicule, all of which he employed very powerfully against his victims who were chiefly British bureaucrats. His writings were acclaimed as incomparable and, it is said, are unequalled in Marathi literature and journalism even to this day. Tilak's visit to Bombay was an indication of the esteem in which he held Paranjpe but his help was unavailing as Tilak himself was arrested and tried in respect of two articles on three charges (one under 153A for the first article, two under 124A and 153A for the second article) and was refused bail by Justice Davar, (who had appeared for him in the 1897 trial, and successfully applied for bail before Justice Tyabji.) A jury of 7 Europeans and 2 Parsis found him guilty by a majority of 7 to 2. Tilak was sentenced to six years' transportation, detained in Ahmedabad for a while, and then transferred to Mandalay.

Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh had already been deported in 1907, and Bengal contributed as many as nine who were singled out for the distinction—Krishna Kumar Mitra, Aswini Kumar Dutt, Shyam Sundar Chakrabarty, Subodh Chandra Mallick, Sachindra Prashad Bose, Satish Chandra Chatterjee, Pulin Behari Das, Manoranjan Guha and Bhupesh Chandra Nag. Prominent among editors prosecuted in Bengal were Aurobindo Ghose of the *Bande Mataram,* Brahmo Bandhab Upadhyaya, editor of *Sandhya,* and Bhupendra Nath Dutt, the editor of *Jugantar,* and brother of Swami Vivekananda with whom was associated Barendra Kumar Ghose, brother of Aurobindo Ghose. C. R. Das appeared for the editors of the *Sandhya* and the *Jugantar.* The former, however, refused to defend himself as he did not hold himself accountable to an alien Government: he died in the Campbell Hospital in Calcutta, when the case was still in its initial stages. The editor of the *Jugantar* was sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment.

C. R. Das also defended Aurobindo Ghose and Barendra Kumar Ghose in the famous Alipore Bomb Case of 1908. Altogether 36 persons were involved in the conduct of an organisation which had a bomb factory at Manicktolla. Some of the persons arrested made confessions which were regarded, at the time, to be of a startling nature. Chittaranjan Das's able advocacy of Aurobindo Ghose's case secured his acquittal, but Barendra Kumar Ghose and Ullaskar Dutt were sentenced to be hanged and Hemchandra Das and Upendranath Bandopadhava and others were transported for life. Chittaranjan Das conducted the appeal on

behalf of the first two in the High Court and their sentences were reduced to transportation.

Aurobindo Ghose had already attracted official attention as editor of the *Bande Mataram,* started on August 6, 1906. The paper was founded by Subodh Chandra Mallick, Chittaranjan Das and Bepin Chandra Pal. Editorial control was vested in a committee of which Aurobindo Ghose was the chief. Aurobindo Ghose's education had been abroad at St. Paul's School, London, and later at Cambridge: he did not know the Bengali language well at the time. Nevertheless, his approach to all problems was imbued by a deep understanding of Indian philosophy. "The New Path" doctrine which he propagated through the columns of the *Bande Matram* resulted in an early prosecution as a result of which his printer was convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment; Aurobindo Ghose himself escaped as his editorial identity could not be proved. In less than a year, a weekly edition was added to the daily (June 2, 1905). The daily served Bengal and the weekly conveyed Aurobindo's message to the whole of India.

The *Bande Mataram* editorially referred to the reforms proposed by Morley in the middle of 1907 as "Comic Opera—the right place for this truly comic council of Notables with its yet more comic functions is an opera by Gilbert and Sullivan and not an India seething with discontent and convulsed by the throes of an incipient revolution."

In a series of seven articles published between April 9 and April 23, 1907, Aurobindo propounded the doctrine of passive resistance as an instrument of political action. "We have not only to organise a central authority," he wrote, "not only to take up all branches of our national life into our hands, but in order to meet bureaucratic opposition and to compel alien control to remove its hold on us, if not at once, then tentacle by tentacle, we must organise defensive resistance......Our immediate problem as a nation is not how to become intellectual and well-informed or how to be rich and industrious, but how to stave off imminent national death, how to put an end to the white peril, how to assert ourselves and live.........In a peaceful way we act against the law or the executive, but we passively accept the legal consequences." It was in fact the philosophy of Gandhism anticipated by some twenty years, with this difference that Aurobindo Ghose made the reservation that resistance should be peaceful and passive only so long as official action was "peaceful and within the rules of the fight".

Aurobindo Ghose's writings often resorted to ridicule as a weapon; for the rest it was cold, implacable logic. His writings drew appreciation from all parts of India:

"Perhaps, few outside Bengal have heard of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, so much so that even the *London Times* has persisted in saying that none but Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal could be the author of the able articles appearing in the *Bande Matram*....In the history of press prosecutions in this country, we have not come across a man who has been more conspicuous by reason of his ability and force of character." (*The Madras Standard*)

"Mr. Aurobindo Ghose is no notoriety hunter, is no demagogue who wants to become prominent by courting conviction for sedition. A man of very fine culture, his is a lovable nature; merry, sparkling with wit and humour, ready in refined repartee, he is one of those men to be in whose company is a joy and behind whose exterior is a steadily growing fire of unseen devotion to a cause."

(*The Indian Patriot*)

"Who knows but what is sedition today may be divine truth tomorrow? Mr. Aurobindo Ghose is a sweet soul!" (The *Mahratta* of Poona).

The passive resistance articles were the cause of the prosecution already referred to. Bipin Chandra Pal who was called to give evidence of Aurobindo's editorship, refused to do so and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In delivering judgment, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Kingsford, acknowledged that "the general tone of the *Bande Mataram* is not seditious." He, nevertheless, sentenced the printer to imprisonment for a few months.

During the trial, Aurobindo resigned the principalship of the Calcutta National College and, at a meeting convened by the students and teachers of the College to express their regret at his resignation, he exhorted them as follows:—

"When we established this college, and left other occupations, other chances of life, to devote our lives to this institution, we did so because we hoped to see in it the foundation, the nucleus of a nation, of the new India which is to begin its career after this night of sorrow and trouble, on that day of glory and greatness when India will work for the world. What we want here is not merely to give you a little information, not merely to open to you careers for earning a livelihood, but to build up sons for the Mother-land to work and to suffer for her....There are times in a nation's history when Providence places before it one work, one aim, to which everything else, however high and noble in itself, has to be sacrificed. Such a time has now arrived for our Motherland when nothing is dearer than her service, when everything else is to be directed to the end. If you will study, study for her sake; train yourself body and mind and soul for her service.... Work that she may prosper. Suffer that she may rejoice. All is contained in that one single advice."

A reference has already been made to the division between the two wings of the Congress and the Surat split. Aurobindo Ghose went to the Surat Congress of 1907 fresh from his victory at the Midnapur session of the Bengal Provincial Conference. Tilak had sent him a telegram asking him to bring as large a contingent of Bengal nationalists as possible. It was Aurobindo Ghose who presided over the conference of nationalists which decided that the attempted retrogression of the Congress should be resisted by all constitutional means, "even by opposing the election of the President, if necessary." After Surat, he visited Baroda, Poona, Bombay, Nasik, Amraoti and Nagpur where he was accorded a rousing reception at public meetings. He returned to Calcutta where he resumed his political activities and his spirited writings in the *Bande Matram*. But it was not to be for long.

In May of that year, he was arrested in connection with the Alipore Bomb Case and during the trial which lasted for a year, he was held in detention, for a period in solitary confinement. He gave himself up to religious mediation and self discipline. While his own trial was but a month old, Tilak was tried and sentenced to six years' transportation. A number of young Bengal nationalists had likewise been deported. When he was released, Aurobindo found that all his political friends and associates had been put out of action. He refused the editorship of *Bengalee* and also to restart the *Bande Matram* which had closed down during his trial, but started two weekly papers, the *Karmayogin*, in English and the *Dharma* in Bengali, both devoted to the dissemination of the principles of the Sanatan Dharma. But he found it difficult to resist the temptation of engaging in political controversy into which he was drawn by constant criticism of the

Nationalists by right wing leaders and newspapers. He wrote vigorously and addressed a number of public meetings in Calcutta and in other district towns in Bengal. At the Barisal Provincial Conference, he again had the Nationalist platform accepted.

The inner struggle between politics and a life of religious seclusion continued for some time. Politics made irresistible claims but Aurobindo Ghose finally came to the conclusion that the time was not ripe for the country to take up his dynamic programme. The report that the Government was seriously contemplating his deportation finally decided him. He retired to Chandranagore and later went to Pondicherry on April 4, 1910, just before the Government decided to launch the third and last prosecution against him for the publication of his "open letter to my countrymen" in the *Karmayogin*. A warrant for his arrest was issued after he reached Pondicherry. Aurobindo Ghose did not appear in Court and again the printer was convicted in the lower court but, on appeal, the High Court quashed the conviction on the ground that the open letter was not seditious.

During the period in which Bal Gangadhar Tilak was in jail, most of the papers propagating his cause had gone out of existence on their editors being sent to jail or heavy securities being demanded from them. The *Kesari* had to furnish a security of Rs. 5,000. Kelkar conducted the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* with great tact and prudence and steered clear through troubled waters. To be a subscriber of the *Kesari* was then to court great displeasure of the Government. In spite of this Kelkar with his colleague D. V. Vidwans, the manager and a nephew of Tilak, managed to pay off the liabilities of the papers and maintained a good number of subscribers. This itself was a great relief to Tilak as the paper formed the nucleus of all his future activities.

When Bal Gangadhar Tilak came out of the jail in 1914, all his nationalist companions had been put out of the way. The first World War had broken out. Tilak quickly gauged his ground in the changed circumstances. He was less uncompromising in his attitude towards the moderates but he was determined to rehabilitate the Nationalists within the Congress. He was also set on a course of agitation for Home Rule. According to the articles of the Congress Constitution, the right of election was confined to organisations which accepted Article I which laid down colonial self-government as the goal. In an attempt to bring the two wings of the Congress together, Annie Besant suggested an amendment to Article XX widening the scope of election. Gokhale and Mehta, however, refused to agree on the ground that it would lead to the renewal by Tilak of his old struggle. The 1914 Congress found no reconciliation. Gokhale died on February 19th, 1915. Tilak, meanwhile, continued his agitation for Home Rule. All through 1915, renewed efforts were made for a compromise but without avail and a month before the Congress was due to meet that year Sir Pherozeshah Mehta passed away.

The resolutions of the 1915 Congress were reiteration of the resolutions which had been passed in previous years even since the inception of the national organisation. More important, it opened the doors to the Nationalist delegates by permitting election by public meetings convened under the auspices of any association of not less than two years' standing on December 31st, 1915 and having as one of its objects "the attainment of

self-Government within the British Empire by constitutional means." Tilak readily accepted this gesture and declared the willingness of his party to re-enter the Congress. He started his Home Rule League on April 23rd, 1916.

Although the Congress had relaxed its attitude, the Government was still obdurate in its antagonism to Tilak. On his 60th birthday on July 23, 1916, he was presented with a public purse of a lakh of rupees in appreciation of his services to the nation. Immediately, the Government served a notice on him to show cause why he should not be bound over for good behaviour for the period of a year in a sum of Rs. 20,000/- on his own recognisance and in two securities of Rs. 10,000/- each, because of three speeches on Home Rule delivered by him at Ahmednagar and Belgaum. Tilak complied with the Magistrate's order but on appeal the Bombay High Court held that the speeches were innocent and quashed the order of the Magistrate. Tilak returned to the Congress of 1916 with a majority of Nationalists as delegates from Bombay to the Lucknow session. A compromise suggested by Tilak on elections to the Subjects Committee having fallen through, separate names were given by the Moderates and the Nationalists. In each case, it was the Nationalists who were elected. Gandhi who had been nominated to the Subjects Committee in the session of the previous year, was proposed by the Moderates in 1916. He was voted down by the Nationalists, but Tilak declared Gandhi elected. The 1916, Lucknow Session was notable both because of the foundations it laid for a united Congress and because of the Lucknow Pact which brought the Congress and the Muslim League together.

Tilak's health was, however, failing him and in consequence his political activities slowed down. Nevertheless, when he spoke, he spoke, with the fire of conviction. He urged everyone to strive for Home Rule and all to bend their energies for its attainment. He accepted the assurances held out by Lloyd George of constitutional change on the termination of the war "We must push our demand while the notion of brotherhood is existing in the minds of the English," he said, speaking on the Home Rule resolution at the Nasik Conference in 1917. In the following year, he went to England where he sued Sir Valentine Chirol for defamation and contributed £ 3,000 to the Labour Party fund. He lost his suit against Chirol but took the opportunity of his presence in England to present the case for India on behalf of his own section of the Home Rule League before the Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament appointed to examine the provisions of Montagu's India Bill and hear evidence. When the Bill became an Act later in 1919, he declared himself in favour of responsive co-operation and took no part in the discussion on, or the preparation for, non-co-operation. In his 1920 manifesto, Tilak declared:—

"This party proposes to work the Montagu Reforms Act for all it is worth and for accelerating the grant of full Responsible Government; and for this purpose, it will without hesitation offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition, whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will."

Although he did not give his assent to it and played no part in the organisation of non-co-operation, Tilak was not opposed to it. "I like the programme well enough," he told Gandhi, "but I have my doubts as to

the country being with us in the self-denying ordinance which non-co-operation presents to the people. I will do nothing to hinder the progress of the movement. I wish you every success, and if you gain the popular ear you will find in me an enthusiastic supporter." In a sense Tilak had cast the mantle of leadership on Gandhi's shoulders by this statement. His failing health gave way and he passed away on the 1st of August 1920, on the day before Gandhi launched his non-co-operation movement.

CHAPTER XV

THE GANDHIAN ERA

Gandhi's moving into the position in politics which he occupied in 1920 was not a mere event; it was a phenomenon. The only other comparable happening, paradoxical as it may sound, was Aurobindo Ghose's sudden departure from politics. Aurobindo had conceived the possibilities of passive resistance but with reservations first, that it should be peaceful only so long as official action was peaceful; second, that British domination was a peril which had to be put an end to; and third, that in order to organise national resistance a nucleus of leadership had to be trained and prepared. Tilak, on the other hand, had unshakable faith in the mass of the people, his capacity to rouse them and the force they would become, once roused, to provide the sinews of a national movement. But Tilak did not believe in non-violence; he did not believe that understanding could extend beyond what he regarded as natural barriers of race, colour and creed. Gokhale believed in two essential conditions of political agitation: the methods should be legitimate and the changes desired should be secured by exerting the pressure of public opinion on constituted authority. He ruled out rebellion, aiding or abetting foreign invasion and resort to crime. He summed up his philosophy thus "Roughly speaking, barring these three things all else was constitutional. No doubt everthing that was constitutional was not necessarily wise or expedient but that was a different matter. Prayers and appeals to justice lay at one end. Passive resistance, including even its extreme form of non-payment of taxes till redress was obtained, lay at the other end." But Gokhale also thought that mass movements meant violence. Gandhi drawing essentially from his experiences in South Africa, combined Aurobindo's faith in passive resistance as an immediate weapon, Tilak's faith in the masses and Gokhale's belief that the possibilities of understanding knew no limit. His faith in the masses remained unshaken throughout, and their faith in him was equally deep and abiding. He had tried out civil disobedience in South Africa and it had worked well with a community of Indians drawn from almost every part of India and of different religious persuasions. It was possible for him, therefore, to think of India as one country and of Indians as one people.

Of all the resolutions passed at the momentous Lucknow Congress session of 1916, Gandhi's attention was attracted to one on the relations between ryots and planters in Bihar. In April 1917, he arrived in Motihari, was ordered to leave the district immediately and he disobeyed the order, and when brought before a magistrate, he pleaded guilty. The prosecution was withdrawn, Gandhi held his investigation, the Government appointed a commission and the grievances were redressed. Kaira offered a similar problem in 1918. Gandhi organised a satyagraha in which the peasants themselves participated and were sentenced to brief terms of imprisonment. Soon the authorities yielded and in his own words Gandhi had demonstrated that "the salvation of the people depends upon themselves, upon their capacity for suffering and sacrifice."

In the same year Gandhi took up the cause of the textile workers in the Ahmedabad mills. He had a pledge from them that they would hold out until their demands were conceded. When their resolution was weakened by the starving condition of their children, Gandhi undertook a fast unto death. Appeals to the mill-owners came from all parts of the country and a solution was found on the fourth day.

The Rowlatt Committee submitted its report in 1918 and the Congress that year condemned its recommendations. The Bills were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council early in the following year and Gandhi declared his intention to lead a passive resistance movement if they were passed into law. He started with a fast, the movement followed bringing in its train the massacres and atrocities under Martial Law in the Punjab and sporadic mass violence. Gandhi admitted his blunder, called off the movement, and offered to assist in restoring peace. Further he insisted that the Congress of 1919, should record its condemnation of the excesses committed in parts of the Punjab and Gujerat. He made it a condition of his continuance in the Congress and in a stirring speech he said: "The Government went mad at that time; we went mad also at the time. I say, do not return madness with madness, but return madness with sanity and the whole situation will be yours." That was the third test: Gandhi's ability to condemn violence and effectively to call off a passive resistance campaign. The weapon of satyagraha had been tried out and proved in every detail.

Gandhi was the President of the All India Home Rule League when he laid his plans for the first comprehensive countrywide non-co-operation movement. The grounds were the Khilafat question and the failure of the Government to redress the wrongs done to the people of the Punjab and to punish officers who were guilty of official crimes. Gandhi called for surrender of titles and honorary and nominated office, boycott of official functions, schools and colleges and courts as well as elections to the reformed Councils and foreign goods. The same year the creed of the Congress was changed and its object was declared to be "the attainment of swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means."

Gandhi had a measure of his strength as well as of his weakness. His resolution had been adopted but there were misgivings in more than one quarter and warnings and expostulations came from influential leaders. Earlier he had made it clear that he did not expect even the Home Rule League to follow his civil disobedience methods. Of the Congress, he expressed the hope that all parties would cherish it as a national organisation providing a platform for all to appeal to the nation, and he promised himself that he "would endeavour so to mould the policy of the League as to make the Congress retain its no-party national character." It was an offer to place his programme for consideration on its merits against any other programme that may be put forward from any other quarter.

It is necessary here to take a detailed look at the state of the Press in each province, sometimes going back to understand the background against which it developed and at other times going forward to describe the circumstances in which repressive measures were enforced by one province or another with more or less severity, as well as to deal with the extraordinary influence, direct and indirect, which Gandhi exercised over newspapers and editors throughout the country.

in the second decade of the 20th century, there were three Anglo Indian papers in Bombay, the *Times of India,* the *Bombay Gazette,* and the *Advocate of India.* As already mentioned the last of these was revived in 1888 by Pherozeshah Mehta but it soon passed out of his hands. There were two weeklies, the *Kaiser-i-Hind,* an Anglo-Gujerati paper and the *Oriental Review* published in English. These two papers and the Anglo-Marathi, *Indu Prakash* from Bombay supported Pherozeshah Mehta's civic and political policies. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and others again felt the need for an English daily to support their views. We have already shown how well Calcutta and Madras were served in this respect. In addition there had been established the *Leader* in Allahabad with the great Liberal, C. Y. Chintamani, as its editor and there was the *Tribune* in Lahore.

Pherozeshah Mehta had considerable difficulty in the initial stages but when on March 3, 1913, the first issue of the *Bombay Chronicle* was sold in the streets of the city as a one-anna paper when all other newspapers were selling at four annas a copy, it came as an agreeable surprise to the public. Its able editor, Benjamin Guy Horniman, had already earned a reputation as an enthusiastic supporter of the Indian cause. He had worked under C. P. Scott on the *Manchester Guardian* and had later joined the *Statesman* in Calcutta, where he walked bare-footed through the streets wearing a dhoti in participating in an anti-partition demonstration. The *Bombay Chronicle* gave Horniman full scope for the expression of his personality and every agitation, local or national, and distress in any part of the country were fully ventilated in its columns. Wherever there was political trouble, Horniman was ready to step in and take the full brunt of the rigours of official repression. He led a campaign against a memorial for Lord Willingdon. He was in Madras when Annie Besant and others were interned. He offered to edit the *New India.* Later, during the 1918 influenza epidemic, Horniman went from house to house in the congested areas of Bombay organising relief and rendering every help to the stricken families. Horniman wrote with a fire reminiscent of James Silk Buckingham's writings in the early days of journalism in Calcutta. The Government and the right wing Liberals were subjected to merciless attacks in a column of lively comment appropriately published over the pen-name of "Atropos". He referred to the *Times of India* as "the old woman of Bori Bunder", tearing to shreds in the public eye the reputation that paper had built up for itself over a period of years. Horniman was a prominent member of the Satyagraha Sabha formed by Gandhi in Bombay to organise opinion against the Rowlatt Bills. The Martial Law excesses in the Punjab in 1919 were first brought to public light in the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle,* which published a revealing account from the pen of Lala Goverdhan Das. The writer was sentenced to three years' imprisonment by a Martial Law court for the offence of communicating to the *Bombay Chronicle* details of happenings in the Punjab in the Martial Law days. Horniman wrote again on the Amritsar massacre and on April 26, 1919, he was dragged from his sick bed and deported to England.

The *Bombay Chronicle* had earned a reputation and made a place for itself in the public life of Bombay within a year of its existence, so much so that Gokhale paid a tribute both to Horniman and to C. Y. Chintamani, the editor of *Leader,* for the signal service they had rendered in support of Gandhi's passive resistance campaign in South Africa.

Journalism in Sind attracted some eminent figures. After the brief existence of the *Phoenix* of which mention has already been made, the *Daily Gazette*, an Anglo-Indian paper owned by British business interests, made its appearance and for a long period was edited by Sir Montague Webb and later by Myatt. As the Gazette adopted the traditional Anglo-Indian attitude of opposing the national movement, the *New Times* edited by Sadhu T. L. Vaswani took up the cause of Indian nationalism. It was to this paper that Punniah (who later became the editor of the *Sind Observer*) was imported all the way from Andhra. The paper, however, did not last beyond 1919.

A paper of some importance was started in 1912 by Maharaj Lokram and Maharaj Vishnu Sharma under the name of the *Hindu*. Its editors included Sri Jairamdas Daulatram, Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani and Sri Hiranand Karamchand. The paper faithfully supported Gandhi's civil disobedience and non-cooperation movements, and in 1930, three of its editors were arrested and imprisoned in succession. The authorities, by order, closed down the press and confiscated the machinery but it continued to appear from different places under different names. The entire editorial staff and management were arrested in 1932. During the next ten years, it had a turbulent existence and in August 1942, in response to Gandhi's appeal, the paper suspended publication. It resumed publication in the following year and enjoyed public support till the partition in 1947 when it was compelled to close down.

The *Sind Observer* came into existence a little before 1920, the year in which Punniah joined it as Assistant Editor. Under his editorship extending over a period of 20 years, the *Sind Observer* became the leading nationalist paper of the province, and effectively held its own against the rival *Daily Gazette*. Punniah enjoyed a position in journalism in Sind comparable to that of C. Y. Chintamani in the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh). He developed the paper in all its departments and built it up into a flourishing concern until the partition came in 1947 and he was driven to Bombay where he died some three years later from a sudden stroke of the heart.

The *Daily Gazette* of Karachi passed through many vicissitudes and showed promise of revival during the war years under the editorship of Sri M. S. M. Sharma, but it too fell a victim to partition and was later converted into the Karachi edition of the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore.

Bihar has a long record of journalistic enterprise reaching as far back as the seventies of the last century when Hindi and Urdu papers came into existence. The first English paper was started before 1880 under the title of the *Bihar Herald*. It was sustained by and espoused the cause of the Bengalis domiciled in Bihar. Other papers which followed in quick succession were the *Indian Chronicle* (1881), the *Bihar Times* (1894) which started the agitation for a separate *Bihar* province and the *Bihar Guardian* which followed a few year later. The last two papers came out in 1906 as the *Beharee* and the *Behari* respectively, the spelling of the names being settled following litigation. The latter (the *Behari*) was the first to close down and the *Beharee* which was converted into a daily in 1913 suspended publication four years later.

The year 1918 marks the beginning of national as opposed to sectarian journalism in Bihar with the publication of the *Searchlight* founded by Sachchidananda Sinha, known as the father of modern Bihar, who was also associated with the beginnings of journalism in Uttar Pradesh. The *Searchlight* was the champion of forward nationalist policies and criticised with vehemence and little restraint its own illustrious founder with the result that when the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga started the *Indian Nation* in 1930, the venture had the support of Dr. Sinha and other leading persons in Bihar. Both continue to be published to this day, though they have exchanged roles of official and opposition papers since the advent of freedom. The *Searchlight* publishes its Hindi counterpart, the *Pradeep,* while the *Indian Nation* brings out the *Aryavarta.*

We must now turn our attention to Bengal to see how newspapers fared there during this period. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had gradually worked its way up to the position of the leading paper of the province. The credit goes to Motilal Ghose who, although a redoubtable fighter in the national cause and a brother nationalist of the grim Bal Gangadhar Tilak, had an engaging personality and a quaint puckish sense of humour which endeared him to friends and foes alike and above all to the most prominent official personalities. Again and again, he baited Lord Curzon without provoking his wrath. Here is an example of his writing:

"As hostile criticism, however, bitter, or a lampoon or a satire or sarcasm does not carry murder with it, Lord Curzon as the ruler of an alien race which has no votes and no representatives in the Government machinery, should welcome it and not try to suppress it either by material or moral force".

There were curious meetings between Motilal and Curzon, the two sitting in separate rooms and the Private Secretary carrying written questions and answers and suggestions and reactions to and fro. At one such interview, Motilal suggested that Curzon should not discriminate between Hindu and Muslim leaders of East Bengal and that if he dined with the Nawab of Dacca, he should extend the same honour to the Maharaja of Mymensingh. Back came the laconic reply, "Yes". To the point that East Bengal would not be a viable province, the reply came: "Mr. Ghose need not trouble himself on that score. My Government has enough money in its coffers to meet it."

When Lord Curzon told the students of the Calcutta University that truthfulness was a Western conception which was only later honoured in the East, Motilal published an extract from Lord Curzon's "Problems of the East" in which he had admitted that he had given his age to the President of the Korean Foreign Office as 40, when it was actually 33, because of the respect attached in the East to age, and to have attributed his youthful appearance to the salubrious climate of Her Majesty's dominions. When the President of the Korean Foreign Office asked whether he was a near relative of Her Majesty, the Queen of England, Lord Curzon recorded his own part of the conversation as follows:—

"No," I replied, "I am not". But observing the look of disgust that passed over his countenance, I was fain to add, "I am, however, as yet an unmarried man," with which unscrupulous suggestion I completely regained the old gentleman's favour.

This passage had been expunged from the later edition of the book which was in circulation at the time but Motilal had managed to secure a copy of the first edition from which he reproduced it.

The Government of Bengal were at this time preparing a list of names of persons for deportation. Sir Andrew Fraser had added Motilal's name to the list with a strong recommendation to his successor, Sir Edward Baker. Motilal knew of this and when Aswini Kumar Dutta and others were deported, he anxiously awaited his turn. Instead, Motilal was summoned to Government House and, after a cheerful conversation in which Motilal himself broached the subject of his writings in his *Amrit Bazar Patrika,* Sir Edward struck off the names of Motilal Ghose and Surendranath Banerjea from the list.

Motilal was a constant visitor to the Government House and the secret of his good relations with the highest officials was that, although he was an extremist and unsparing in his attacks on them, sometimes from the most unexpected angle, his personal relations with them were always informal and he never despaired of his ability to convert the most confirmed diehards to his point of view. Quite often he was able to talk them round and, even when he failed, he was able to make them understand his point of view and to make allowance for it. Many Englishmen who were incensed by his writings, warmed towards him as they came under the spell of his quaint personal charm which combined a doggedness in the pursuit of his ends and pleading, often with tears in his eyes, for understanding of the country's cause and the people's aspirations. The next moment he was ready to engage in cheerful banter in which he joined in a hearty laugh against himself as happily as he scored points. To the Englishman, Motilal was a quaint, other-world character and likeable. Thus we have Ramsay MacDonald writing of Motilal Ghose's Italian palace, with ample courtyard, carved screen and balustrades, where decay spoke from every stone. The *Pall Mall Gazette* of London wrote of Motilal and his house:—

"Motilal Ghose published his paper in a huge rambling warren of a house in North Calcutta where he lives with a swarm of relatives and dependents in partriarchal fashion. Babies cling about the editor's bare legs, as clad in a scanty piece of linen, he writes torrents of fierce abuse with a most benevolent smile".

Motilal was a journalist to the core and to him the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* came before everything else. Motilal's account of his interview with the Prince of Wales (later King George V) in January 1906 is full of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*: Sir Walter Lawrence (Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales) was a regular reader of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika;* the Prince wished to know the people at first hand and was making the fullest use of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika;* His Royal Highness probably wanted to convey some assuring words to the people of India through the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and Motilal finally succeeded in securing a message of good cheer to the people for his paper.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had its troubles too and Motilal Ghose carried them on his shoulders as cheerfully as its good fortune. A security of Rs. 5,000/- was demanded from the paper (1913) for its comments on the Jagatshri Ashram affairs under the Press Act, 1910. The security was paid and repeated attempts were made to have it forfeited but thanks to Motilal's

efforts they were not successful. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* grew in popularity. Again, in the same year, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was in trouble in connection with the Barisal Conspiracy Case, this time for contempt of court. After a protracted hearing, the case against Motilal was dismissed with costs as the Chief Justice held that "the materials necessary to fasten responsibility on him (as editor) were wholly wanting". The case against the printer and publisher was also dismissed with costs on the ground that "in the present case no contempt justifying summary action on our part has been established". As a result of this case, the Contempt of Court Bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council, providing for the publication of the name of the editor in each issue of the journal edited by him. The war broke out soon after and the passage of the Bill was deferred till 1926. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was regarded as a champion of the students and whenever they were in trouble, it came to their aid. In 1916, there was a serious set-to between the students of the Presidency College and Professors E. F. Oaten. Two students were expelled; and one of them was Subhas Chandra Bose. Throughout, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* supported the students and it was in these days that Subhash Bose and Motilal came together.

In politics although Motilal supported Tilak and was himself counted among the nationalists, he strove unceasingly for a *rapprochement* between the two groups but according to him, Pherozeshah Mehta in Bombay and Surendranath Banerjea in Bengal turned a deaf ear to all approaches for a reconciliation. Even, when Annie Besant added her voice to Motilal's no reconciliation was in sight and when at last reconciliation came in 1916 at Lucknow, Surendranath Banerjea presided over a joint conference of Hindu and Muslim leaders which adopted a common scheme of constitutional reforms. As one of the founders of the Congress, Surendranath Banerjea was not happy about the outcome of the Lucknow Session, and he did not feel easy about the new arrangement which, in his opinion, seemed to give the Home Rule Leaguers the best of both worlds, *i.e.*, a significant place within the Congress and freedom to pursue their own policy outside. Again and again, he was asked to join the Home Rule League on the promise that he would be unanimously elected President of the Calcutta Branch. Surendranath Banerjea refused. Nevertheless, when Annie Besant was interned, Surendranath Banerjea was in the forefront of public expression of indignation at the action taken against her.

The history of Surendranath Banerjea's political activities is also the history of the *Bengalee*. Again and again Motilal Ghose and Surendranath Banerjea came into conflict with each other and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* clashed with the *Bengalee*. Their objectives and one may even say, their approach to political problems were the same. But Surendranath was reserved and was discriminating in the causes which he was prepared to support, while Motilal Ghose took up every popular cause and supported it in a manner which caught the public imagination. Their indentity of interest compelled them on occasion to appear on the same platform and speak in appreciative terms of each other but always their rivalry, both in the journalistic and the political spheres, which was not without a strong personal tinge, asserted itself. The difference between the two is well illustrated in the personal records they have left behind of their lives. Surendranath Banerjea in his '*A Nation in the Making*' makes practically no reference to his encounters with Motilal Ghose or to the controversy that went on almost continuously between the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and

the *Bengalee*, while Motilal Ghose, in his notes, makes frequent references to them, freely discussing his own actions as well as Surendranath's with a disarming frankness but, nevertheless, presenting himself as the better of the two. From the popular point of view, Motilal's was the more intriguing and sometimes even amusing personality and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the livelier paper of the two. The result was that while the two papers were actually complementary in the service they rendered to the public, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* prospered while the *Bengalee* declined.

As insight may be had into the peculiar position of the *Bengalee* and other papers of the same status and calibre throughout the country, *vis-a-vis* their livelier contemporaries, from the evidence given before the Press Laws Committee of 1921 by Prithwis Chandra Ray, the then editor of the *Bengalee*. Ray was joint editor of the paper in 1919 and 1920. He was appointed editor in 1921 when Surendranath Banerjea was appointed Minister in the Government of Bengal. Ray was also one of the proprietors. He told the Committee that the *Bengalee* had represented the moderate school of political thought since the differences with Tilak in 1908. Between 1905 and 1908, he said, the Moderate Party held the entire field against all other different parties of the country and the *Bengalee* was looked upon by the people as giving the light and lead in political agitation. The paper was conducted on legtimate constitutional principles and never encouraged any breach of law and order. Ray said that the *Bengalee* had firmly adhered to that policy throughout its existence. He complained that there were many papers in Calcutta (in 1921) which "from morning to morning preached much more violent sedition than all the Press in Bengal used to do in the days of Lord Curzon's viceroyalty." In his view, the *Bengalee* and the *Indian Mirror* were the exceptions but the *Indian Mirror* was fast declining. Of the *Bengalee*, too, he said that when he took up its editorship, he found that it was practically boycotted by the whole educated community in Bengal, but added that after working on it for four months, he had been able to popularise it and the educated classes were reading it every day. He was hopeful of the prospects of the paper provided the campaign of non-co-operation did not take an extraordinarily violent turn. Ray further explained that a paper in the position of the *Bengalee* had to tread the middle path cautiously. "If we are strong in supporting the Government," he said, "the people would come down upon us and would not have anything to do with our paper, and secondly, we are timid because we have got to look to the interests of other proprietors besides myself. There are pecuniary considerations before us. As after all, the *Bengalee* is more a commercial proposition than a mere propagandist organ."

Referring generally to Bengali journalism, Ray told the Committee that they had not yet been trained to put up dummy editors in any of the serious undertakings, "except in the case of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* where it was said there was no physical editor." He added:—

"So far as the important and leading papers are concerned, I think the proprietor and editor are in most cases the same party, both in English and in vernacular. Take, for instance, the *Bengalee*. I am editing the paper, but I am also one of the proprietors. Take the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Mr. Motilal Ghose is one of the proprietors as also the editor. He has always been the editor except in the law courts. In the *Indian Mirror*, the proprietor is the editor. In the case of the *Sanjibani*, one of the most respectable vernacular weeklies in Calcutta, Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter is the editor as well as the proprietor".

In his written representation, Ray suggested that all matters relating to the abuse of the liberty of the Press should be referred to a standing committee set up in each province consisting of a local minister as president, two members appointed by the Government, two elected by the provincial legislative council and two nominated by the members of the Press. In a supplementary statement he submitted:—

"There are only two ways how irresponsible and seditious writings may be suppressed. One is by the controlling force of public opinion and another by legislative provisions. Unfortunately for India, there is practically no wholesome public opinion to bring a seditious writer to ridicule and contempt or make him know his place in society, whatever public opinion there may be in the country rather goes to applaud and make a hero of the man who can take courage in both hands to defy law and order. It will take a long time yet for healthy public opinion to assert itself and drive the irresponsible writer beyond the pale of decent society. Till that time, the liberty enjoyed by the Press in England and France and America can hardly be expected not to be abused out in India. Therefore, I say, that until the commonsense of society comes to take its natural part in enforcing upon us a moral and constitutional restraint, laws have got to be depended on to do this sort of work for the well-being of the community.

"Now, I come to the important question as to whether the ordinary laws of the land are sufficient to meet the requirements of the Indian Press situation. I am no lawyer myself, and I, therefore, do not feel competent to give any opinion on the subject. If this Committee, however, thinks that Sections 124-A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code, and section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code are inadequate to cope with seditious crime in the Press, I would beg of them to consider the advisability of recommending to the Legislature the wisdom of grafting on the Criminal Procedure Code, when it comes to be revised next autumn, clauses for enforcing security and forfeiture after a judicial trial. For the present, I would remain content at that, and wait till, under better education and more restraining influence of society, the seditious writer will find his occupation gone".

The Bengalee and its Indian language counterpart, *Nayak*, seem to have been affected by differences within the "moderate" political group. Once in his evidence, Ray referred to Surendranath Banerjea's conduct of the paper as if he did not altogether approve of it. Panchcowrie Banerjee, editor of the *Nayak* (the allied paper), admitted that the Indian Press in Bengal had declined. "The *Patrika* has lost its old sauce and the *Bengalee* is no good, although I am the editor of the *Bengalee* (Panchcowrie Banerjee was in fact the editor of the *Nayak* and had a proprietorial interest in the *Bengalee*.) In Bengal, it commands a greater sale because of its language." It was Panchcowrie Banerjee's view that sauce and venom in a newspaper were a commercial necessity. "I have been writing in the columns of the *Nayak* like that," he admitted "owing to the Government allowing us opportunities to write in that manner. The taste of the public has become so vitiated that nothing sells now except it is against the Government, something that is saucy, something that is venomous."

Panchcowrie Banerjee had been 30 years in Bengal journalism. He was a joint founder-editor of the *Sandhya* with Brahmobandhav Upadhyaya who was prosecuted for sedition along with the editors of *Bande Mataram* and *Jugantar*. Panchcowrie Banerjee continued to edit the *Sandhya* for some time . He claimed connections with Indian language journalism in Calcutta, Bengal and the United Provinces. He also drew cartoons, and Panchcowrie Banerjee said that if any person wanted something written in a spicy way, he went to him for help. Panchcowrie Banerjee later edited the *Hitabadi*. By the time he came over to the *Bengalee* he seems to have acquired a

somewhat reactionary outlook. "As a matter of fact, seriously speaking, when you have a paper persistently committing sedition or is punished over and over again for sedition and it pleaded guilty," he told the Press Laws Enquiry Committee of 1921, "it proves beyond all doubt that there is a coterie, or a number of men behind egging the editors and writers on. If you confiscate the Press you create a quietus. That was the only effective punishment to which the *Sandhya* succumbed." Panchcowrie Banerjee was of the view that the standpoint of the whole Press in Bengal was more or less mercenary. Of the other provinces, as compared to Bengal, he said, "one is half a dozen and the other is six". Referring to party papers he regretted that the system of forming syndicates to float a paper in order to do some sort of propaganda work had not developed. "I have been with the moderate party," he added, "and have been hammering at the doors of the moderates in order to transform the *Bengalee* into a moderate organ."

While Panchcowrie Banerjee was moving to the right, Prithwis Chandra Ray was drifting to the left. He wrote with disillusion of Surendranath Banerjea.

The triumvirate controlling the *Bengalee* was breaking up and, in 1923, Prithwis Chandra Ray went all out in the *Bengalee* to support C. R. Das's Swaraj Party which was to wreck the constitution from within. It is hardly surprising that Ray left the *Bengalee* soon after and that the paper itself had to suspend publication later.

The Bengali papers published during this period were; *The Nabasakti*, founded by Manoranjan Guha Thakurta as a daily in 1906, and the *Nayak* (1908) to which reference has already been made, owned and edited by Panchcowrie Banerjee and published as the counter-part of the *Bengalee*. In 1914, was started the *Basumati* with the distinguished Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghosh as editor. In 1922, Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Prafulla Kumar Sarkar and Suresh Chandra Mazumdar started the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* which, under the editorship and proprietorship of the last-named, enjoys a reputation in Bengali equal to that of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in English, as well as the distinction of having had over a long period the largest circulation of any individual newspaper in the country.

A little before C. R. Das began planning to start a newspaper to propagate the Council-entry programme of the Swaraj Party in which he was to play a dominant part, Shyam Sundar Chakravarty was drawn to Gandhi's non-co-operation which appealed to his selfless idealism. He participated in the movement with great enthusiasm and, in 1920, started the *Servant* which continued to propagate the cause of the Gandhian no-changers. The paper made a spectacular start and flourished for a little over two years, until C. R. Das's *Forward* appeared in 1923 and swept all before it. The *Servant* suffered an eclipse but nothing daunted, Shyam Sundar Chakravarty kept the paper going, advocating a cause which was to him a mission. He struggled with the paper whose circulation had dwindled from 30,000 to a mere 5,000. With financial aid from friends, Chakravarty succeeded in raising the circulation to 10,000. The news agencies had discontinued their services as payment owing to them was in arrears. The *Servant* subscribed to the *Free Press News Agency*, and as the agency concentrated on news about the civil disobedience movement, it attracted public interest. Financial strain and overwork, however, impaired the health of Chakravarty and he passed away and the paper ceased publication at about the same time.

Lucknow was unfortunate in its newspapers. The first nationalist paper, the *Advocate*, published in English was started in the last decade of the 19th Century and was edited by Bishen Narayan Dhar and Amvika Charan Mazumdar who presided over the 1911 and 1916 sessions of the Congress, respectively. Both were brilliant speakers and writers, and the *Advocate* of Lucknow was described at the time as a powerful instrument of political agitation which exercised considerable influence on the public mind. With the split in the Congress, however, Amvika Charan Mazumdar found himself in the Moderate camp and the paper declined in popularity and, subsequently, closed down. In 1911, Bishen Narayan Dhar contributed an article to the *Leader* of Allahabad on the political situation in India, and Chintamani who was then the editor of the paper, received a warning from the District Magistrate. The *Leader* consulted two eminent lawyers in Britain, Sir Edward Carson and Sir Horace Avery, whose views were judiciously made known to the authorities and, as a result, no further action was taken. Later, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* was published from Lucknow and continued publication till the second decade of the 20th Century, but its changing policies and poor production resulted in its closure.

There was no Indian-owned English daily in the United Provinces when Madan Mohan Malaviya established the *Leader* at Allahabad in October, 1909, with himself as editor. C. Y. Chintamani joined the Leader when it was founded, and assumed its sole editorship sometime later.

The *Leader*, however, was not the first Indian newspaper enterprise in Allahabad. Nagendra Nath Gupta had established a weekly with the help of Sachchidananda Sinha, the *Indian People* (1903) which he jointly edited with Chintamani. He had come to Allahabad from Karachi where he had edited a paper called the *Phoenix* for a public-spirited Muslim, Jaffar Fadoo, who was roused by the malpractices in the Khoja community and was moved to expose them in the columns of the paper. He was nearly murdered by the orthodox members of the community. Nagendra Nath Gupta also advocated the cause of the Sind Hindu Sabha in the columns of the *Phoenix*. After he had developed it into a daily paper, Nagendra Nath Gupta was tried for publication of a report from Shikarpur and jailed because he refused to reveal the name of the correspondent. On release from jail, he left Sind and came over to Allahabad where he started the *Indian People*. When the *Leader* was started, the *Indian People* was merged with it and Gupta was the first *de facto* editor. After a few months, however, Gupta left Allahabad and went to Lahore as the editor of the *Tribune*.

Under Chintamani's able editorship, the *Leader* of Allahabad, after initial difficulties, rose to great heights and was acknowledged to be one of the leading papers in the country. For a long time, it was accepted as the authentic voice of the right-wing Congress, consisting of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, and Gokhale. Pherozeshah Mehta was so impressed with Chintamani's editorship of the *Leader* that he seriously considered him for the editorship of the *Bombay Chronicle* when that paper was founded. It will be recalled that Gokhale acknowledged the services rendered by the *Leader* to him and to Gandhi in the struggle in South Africa.

Chintamani did not, however, support the non-co-operation movement when Gandhi launched it in India. He criticised with equal vehemence the Government on the one hand and the non-co-operation movement which was gathering momentum, on the other. He condemned the extreme elements for making it impossible for the moderate leaders to address political meetings and, although he was one of the leading figures of the All-India National Liberal Federation, as it came to be known, he claimed that he and others of his political school had remained faithful to the programme and ideals of the Congress. At the same time, he was a stern realist and acknowledged with equal frankness that the radical elements were gaining ground.

Chintamani conducted the *Leader* as the mouth-piece of the Liberal Party and expected the members of the *Leader* staff to accept the essential principles of liberalism. Under Chintamani's editorship, the *Leader* remained steadfast in its adherence to constitutional and progressive politics and it consistently and unsparingly criticised the policy of non-co-operation and civil disobedience, the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges and the calling on lawyers to abandon the courts. At the height of the first non-co-operation movement, Gandhi admitted that no newspaper had combated the non-co-operation movement so persistently and with such ability as the *Leader* of Allahabad.

As editor of the *Leader* and as a political leader, Chintamani favoured the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and was the first Indian Minister in the United Provinces under the dyarchic constitution. He distinguished himself as an able administrator and followed progressive policies in the departments entrusted to his care. Unfortunately, Chintamani did not continue long as Minister. De la Fosse who was Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, brought a case for defamation against I.N. Gurtu for certain remarks he made about De la Fosse at a small informal party. The court awarded damages against Gurtu. Chintamani complained to the Governor that De la Fosse had initiated the action without his knowledge and on the Governor informing him that De la Fosse had obtained his permission, Chintamani tendered his resignation in protest. He was acknowledged to be amongst the ablest Indian Ministers of his time.

Even while he was Minister, despite his many political activities, Chintamani kept a watchful eye on the *Leader* though he never contributed to its columns. He had in Krishnaram Mehta an able and experienced editor who, however, lacked the zeal and fire which inspired Chintamani's writings.

When he was out of office, he served the United Provinces as leader of the opposition in the Provincial Assembly where his unrivalled knowledge of conditions in the province, his grasp of parliamentary procedure and his trenchant criticism of Government policies often threw the Treasury Benches into a state of panic.

The circumstances of his return to the editorship of the *Leader*, combined with his powerful writings, added to its popularity. Chintamani's writings received the most careful attention at the hands of the Government and he fearlessly took up the cause of Indians being appointed to the highest positions in the administration and in the judiciary. It was the

Leader which strongly advocated the appointment of Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh as Home Member of the U. P. Government and Sir Shah Mohammed Suleiman as the first Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court. Lord Birkenhead was in favour of appointing an Englishman to succeed Sir Grimwood Mears whose term of office was about to expire. He told Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru when the latter was in England that he felt that the appointment of a Muslim as Chief Justice may not be acceptable to the Hindu community. The *Leader* strongly urged the appointment of Sir Shah Mohammed Suleiman as a person who enjoyed the confidence and esteem of all sections of the people. Some time after, the *Leader* was hauled up for contempt of court in respect of a letter published in its columns discussing appointments to the Bench. Chintamani refused to apologise and was found guilty and sentenced to pay a small fine. Sir Shah Mohammed Suleiman was the Chief Justice. The incident did not, however, impair the good relations between the editor and the judge. Among the Directors of the *Leader* was Motilal Nehru who began to feel that the policy of the paper should be stepped up in line with the forward policies of Annie Besant and Gandhi. When he moved for a change in policy, however, Chintamani confronted him, at a meeting of shareholders, with a number of proxies which he had collected in anticipation. Motilal Nehru severed his connection with the *Leader* and, a few months later, started the *Independent* with the help of B. G. Horniman of the *Bombay Chronicle* who brought with him Syud Hosain for the editorship of the new paper. The *Independent* made a promising start and seriously threatened the *Leader's* monopoly. The *Independent* did well under Syud Hosain's editorship and, after his sudden departure, under the editorship of George Joseph. But when the latter was called away to politics, the paper's weakening finances sealed its fate and it closed down in 1923.

On effect of the rise of the *Leader* under Chintamani's editorship was the decline of the *Pioneer* of Allahabad. Essentially an official newspaper, the *Pioneer* claimed an all-India circulation. It has already been noticed that the *Pioneer* held an unique position among the Indian newspapers because of its close contact with each department of the Government of India as well as with the Provincial Governments. The monopoly was broken with the restrictions imposed on officials in the matter of their contacts with the Press and the wider dissemination of all news through the agency of the *Associated Press of India*. The *Statesman* of Calcutta and the *Times of India* of Bombay had outstripped the *Pioneer* in organisation and management and, by developing their news services and modernising their means of production, had extended their area of circulation to the most distant parts of the country. The *Pioneer* had thus to fall back on local circulation where the *Leader* had grown to be a serious competitor.

In the latter half of the middle twenties, the *Pioneer* made a desperate effort to rehabilitate itself with a new editor, F. W. Wilson, who initiated a drastic change in the paper's policy, revolutionised its appearance and brought its price down from four annas to one anna per copy. Wilson who had an engaging personality and was well-versed in all departments of newspaper production, swung the policy of the paper sharply to the left of Indian politics—a little more to the left than the *Leader* of Allahabad. The time was opportune both for him and for the Swaraj Party, which was at the time (with the consent of Gandhi) engaged in wrecking the constitution from within. The Central Assembly was the scene of the most

brilliant debates in which the Swaraj Party scored point after point. In his editorials and in the news columns, Wilson attacked the Government and covered it with ridicule. He debunked "the old koi hai" and, as the few remaining readers of the *Pioneer* belonged to that class, they fell off rapidly. The circulation of the paper, however, went up by leaps and bounds both because of Wilson's lively writings and because the complete change in tone of an Anglo-Indian paper attracted Indian readers in large numbers away from the *Leader*. The *Pioneer's* advertisements dropped but Wilson followed his policy undaunted. Unfortunately, however, Wilson involved the paper in costly legal action which brought about his downfall. The East Indian Railway took legal action against the paper in 1929, for publishing a letter to the editor containing the most serious allegations against the railway staff in connection with the Belur Train smash. The case was compounded out of court for Rs. 20,000. Later, Wilson commented on the Meerut Conspiracy Case while it was in progress. He wrote that Derojinsky, one of the Crown witnesses, had stolen the Russian Crown jewels, and questioned his reliability. Wilson refuted the prosecution's contention that Bradley and Spratt (who were under trial) were members of a Communist association, asserting that Ellen Wilkinson and Arthur Greenwood who were then Ministers in the Labour Government, were also members of the same association. The paper was hauled up for contempt of court and the Allahabad High Court in passing judgment against the *Pioneer* declared Wilson incapable of discharging the responsibilities of the editor of a newspaper. His services were promptly terminated by the management. The *Pioneer* declined rapidly thereafter, and the proprietors sold the paper to the landlords of Oudh and the businessmen of Kanpur. Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava became the Managing Director of the paper and, in 1933, he brought out Desmond Young as editor who, in the same year, moved the paper from Allahabad to Lucknow, where it is still publishing under the editorship of Surendranath Ghosh.

The *National Herald* started publication in August 1938 with Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman of the Board of Directors, a position which he held till September 1946 when he assumed the Vice-Presidentship of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Although not the official organ of the Congress, the *National Herald* followed Congress policy and was so closely identified with the party in the war years that it served as a test case of the freedom of the Press under the Defence of India Rules, and in relations between the Government and the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

It was feared early in 1940 that due to financial difficulties, the *National Herald* might have to be closed down, all efforts for getting financial assistance from Indian capital having failed. At this juncture the entire editorial and managerial staff with whom were associated the workers in the press, made a suggestion to the Board of Directors that they may be allowed to run the concern in their own way for another period of three months, and if their management was successful, the *National Herald* might be allowed to continue. The Board of Directors readily accepted this suggestion and the entire management was handed over to the staff. They were told by the editorial staff and the senior members of the managerial department that in order to meet the financial difficulties, they had agreed to defer receipt of their salaries till the three months' period was over. In the meantime, the salaries due to the staff every month were credited to their respective accounts. In the course of these three months, the paper in-

creased greatly in popularity and its circulation went up considerably. The advertisement revenue also increased, and the deficit was considerably narrowed down. The Directors asked the staff to continue to be in charge of the management of the paper and, during the course of the next three months, the deferred salaries were paid to the staff. By that time the paper had become almost self-supporting.

On August 19, 1940, the Chief Secretary to the Government of U. P. served an order on the editor calling on him to submit all headlines relating to war news to the scrutiny of the Secretary of the Information Department. A similar censorship was imposed on posters, the reason given for the action taken being "to prevent the publication, in the newspaper, of matter prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war." No such order was issued by any other provincial Government and newspapers throughout the country condemned the action taken by the U. P. Government as absurd and impracticable. The *National Herald* pointed out that all war news came from the news agencies and that headlines merely summed up the news. It represented the order as an unwarranted restriction on the freedom of the Press and as no Government censor was available in the early hours of the morning, the order made it impossible for the newspaper to carry the latest news. For six months until the order was withdrawn, the *National Herald* published news relating to war without headlines.

On October 25, 1940, the Government of India issued an order which prohibited "the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of any matter calculated, directly or indirectly, to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion, or of any matter relating to the holding of meetings or the making of speeches for the purpose, directly or indirectly, of fomenting such opposition as aforesaid; provided that nothing in this order shall be deemed to apply to any matter communicated by the Central Government or a provincial Government to the Press for publication." The Directors of the Associated Journals Ltd., publishers of the *National Herald,* in a statement on the Government order, declared their decision to discontinue publication of leading articles and other editorial matter in the *National Herald* as the order prohibited newspapers from giving expression both to India's attitude towards the war as well as to vital aspects of Congress policy.

The order was withdrawn 17 days later following discussions in Delhi between the Government and representatives of leading newspapers as a result of which the system of press-advising came into being. The *National Herald* resumed publication of editorials. A fortnight later, however, the U.P. Government demanded a security of Rs. 6,000 in respect of three editorials which were held objectionable under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act and the *National Herald* again suspended publication of editorials. The *National Herald* pointed out that the U.P. Government had not set up a Press Advisory Committee as agreed upon on November 10, and had consulted neither the Delhi Press Advisory Committee nor the Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference. The Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference intervened to have the order withdrawn but without success and a goodwill committee consisting of three leading editors also failed to secure redress.

The *National Herald* commanded strong public support and the amount of the security deposit was found by a few well-wishers of the paper, and in response to public demand editorials began to reappear after a period of three months. Meanwhile, a Press Advisory Committee had been set up and although the Government took exception to certain articles, the Committee did not recommend action. It was not long before the Chief Secretary disregarding the verdict of the Committee, sent a warning to the editor of the newspaper. Some 40 articles written between November 1940 and May 1942 were examined and the security deposited by the paper was forfeited, although the Committee returned a verdict of not guilty in each case, contenting itself with strictures in a few instances.

Soon after, fresh securities for Rs. 12,000 were demanded and Jawaharlal Nehru, in a signed editorial, anticipating the demand, wrote:

"About two years or more ago the directors considered the possibility of a demand for security being made on the *Herald*. We were not quite decided then as to what we should do. We wanted to continue the *Herald* as long as we possibly could, and yet the idea of furnishing securities to the Government went against the grain. I was myself opposed to any submission in this respect by giving securities. When securities were actually demanded, I was in prison and my colleagues who were out decided and I felt that the responsibility was theirs and I must accept it....Now that the securities have been forfeited and fresh securities are bound to be demanded, the question has to be considered afresh. Fortunately for us, many leading Congressmen came to Lucknow for the meeting of the provincial Congress Committee and the directors took counsel with them. They were unanimously of opinion that the *Herald* should be continued if this was at all possible. We have willingly bowed to their will and decided to furnish additional securities, well knowing the risks that lie in our future path. We have done so also because we have faith in our people and know that they will come to our help in this hour of need".

Among the others who signed the appeal to the public were Sri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, Acharya Narendra Deva, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit and Sri Mohan Lal Saxena. The appeal evoked immediate response and the amount was collected within 48 hours.

During the individual Civil Disobedience Movement of 1941, some political prisoners were reported to have been lathi-charged and assaulted in the Lucknow camp jail. The *National Herald* published a strong editorial on the subject. Sri K. Rama Rao, the editor was subsequently prosecuted on a complaint made by the Superintendent of Jail and sentenced to six months' imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 700. The case aroused great public interest.

In August 1942, Congress leaders were arrested, fresh restrictions were imposed on the *National Herald* and the paper suspended publication. The offices of the *National Herald* were raided by the police a few days later, papers were seized and the premises were placed under lock and key. All efforts of the Standing Committee of All India Newspaper Editors' Conference to persuade the Government to release the offices were of no avail and it was not until 1945 after the Simla Conference on the Wavell Plan, that the premises were restored and the *National Herald* resumed publication.

Soon after Gandhi's arrest in 1942, in view of his statement that it was better not to publish newspapers than to bring them out under all kinds of Governmental restrictions, several newspapers including the *National Herald,* the *Indian Express* and the *Dinamani* suspended publication.

A majority of the papers though they criticised the Press restrictions, continued to come out.

As against the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, a conference of suspended newspapers was held, but with the exception of the *National Herald,* the *Harijan* and one or two others, the suspended newspapers resumed publication in 1943.

Reference has already been made to the *Tribune* of Lahore which was started in 1881, by Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia with Sitala Kanta Chatterjee as editor. Bepin Chandra Pal who joined the paper as a Sub-editor in 1887, records in his biography* that the real editor was Seetalchandra Mukherjee from Allahabad and that Sitala Kanta Chatterjee held local charge of the paper in Lahore. About the time that Bepin Chandra Pal joined the paper it was running as a tri-weekly and it was not possible for Mukherjee to take care of the editorial columns from Allahabad. Sitala Kanta Chatterjee became the editor and another man (Bepin Chandra Pal) was taken on the staff of the paper. Although a prominent figure in politics, Bepin Chandra Pal was in financial difficulties and he readily accepted the offer from the editor who was an old friend. Bepin Chandra Pal writes:—

"Within a few days of my taking up the duties of my new post as sub-editor of the *Tribune,* the editor Sitala Kanta Chatterjee went on leave, and I was placed in editorial charge of the paper. For five months, I conducted the *Tribune,* and along with it found large opportunities of service in the Brahmo Samaj also, as minister and lecturer....Though a poor journalist, I found myself at Lahore drawn into intimate fellowship with practically the whole of the advanced section of the Indian community of the place. The *Tribune* also rose very considerably in public estimation during these four or five months when I was in sole editorial charge of it. This was entirely due to my passion for writing which led me to write practically the whole paper myself, leaving only the news columns in charge of my two sub-editors. Seetala Kanta never did it. He lacked the passion that I always have had for literary work. My sub-editors, naturally enough, did not quite like my doing every bit of original writing myself leaving them, however unconsciously it might be, no scope for the satisfaction of their literary passion or journalistic ambitions.

This perhaps was the reason why the *Tribune* attracted more public attention during the time I was in editorial charge of it than it had done before. On his return from leave Seetalakanta redistributed the work of the paper, placing me in charge of the final proofs and the supervision of the day's collection. These were really not the duties of a sub-editor. I did not like to accept these, consequently I resigned."

Attempts were made to persuade Bepin Chandra Pal to reconsider his decision and it would appear that even Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia offered to intervene. Bepin Chandra Pal, however, felt that rejoining the staff as a result of the proprietor's intervention would not make for smooth working. He, therefore, persuaded Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia to accept his resignation and left Lahore in August 1888.

**My life and Times* by Bepin Chandra Pal, Vol. II, page 22.

Sitala Kanta Chatterjee continued to edit the *Tribune* for some years thereafter, and was followed for a while by Alfred Nundy and others until in the middle of 1911, Nagendranath Gupta came over from the *Leader* in Allahabad and assumed the editorship. After a few years, however, he resigned from the editorship and retired from journalism. The paper was, thereafter edited for short spells by various persons until on December 12, 1917, Kalinath Ray became associated with the paper as editor.

Kalinath Ray started his career as a journalist in 1900 on the staff of the *Bengalee*. After working for a short period on that paper, he went to Assam to edit the *Citizen* but returned soon after to the *Bengalee* with which paper he remained till 1911 when he took up the editorship of the *Punjabee* in Lahore. He resigned the editorship of the *Punjabee* to take up the editorship of the *Tribune* on December 12, 1917. The *Punjabee* continued publication till May 1919 when it was closed down soon after the demand of security of Rs. 2,000. During Kalinath Ray's editorship of the *Tribune*, the paper established a great reputation for itself solely due to Ray's fearless and independent writing through a period of intense political and financial strain. Kalinath Ray was greatly esteemed by eminent persons in India and in England both for the quality of his writings and the independence of his thought. Among those who acknowledged his talent and integrity were Gandhi, Sir Valentine Chirol and Edmund Chandler. His writings carried the greatest weight with the Punjab Government, the Government of India and the British Government, and the *Tribune* was often quoted in debates in Parliament.

Kalinath Ray's health was never very good and he was subject to frequent attacks of asthma. He never spared himself, however, and with him the *Tribune* was always the first consideration. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 in May 1919, but on appeal, the sentence was reduced to three months and he resumed the editorship of the paper in September of the same year. The *Tribune* ceased publication for three days in April when Kalinath Ray was arrested, as the offices of the paper were sealed prior to a police search.

Kalinath Ray was offered the editorship of the *Independent* by Motilal Nehru who had started that paper in Allahabad in January 1919 with Syud Hosain as editor but the Trustees of the *Tribune* were reluctant to release him and Kalinath Ray declined the offer. His connection with the paper remained uninterrupted thereafter till March 11, 1943, when he tendered his resignation on grounds of his failing health. He left Lahore soon after, but continued to contribute articles to the paper from Khulna in East Bengal. Kalinath Ray was persuaded to return to the *Tribune* as Chief Editor in November 1944. His health, however, declined rapidly in the severe winter of Lahore and he left for Calcutta on December 1, 1945, caught a chill during the journey, and died in Calcutta eight days later.

In the grim days of August 1947, it because increasingly apparent that the *Tribune* would not be able continue publication from Lahore. The paper was published under the most difficult and trying conditions, and the issue of August 14 could neither be delivered to the subscribers nor hawked in the streets. On that day, two members of the *Tribune* staff were stabbed, one of them fatally, and the remainder left Lahore for East Punjab precipitately with their families and such of their belongings as they could lay hands on.

The *Tribune* ceased publication for 40 days and resumed publication from Simla towards the end of September. The paper moved down to Ambala in May 1948 where it continues publication.

The *Tribune* left behind in Lahore all its movable and immovable properties, including newsprint and printing machinery, and lands which had been acquired for the establishment of a colony. It received no compensation for the loss thus sustained. It has rehabilitated itself largely through its own efforts, the help of the East Punjab Government and the spontaneous public support received in its new home.

It should be mentioned that the *Tribune* is unique among the newspapers of India in that it is managed by a Board of Trustees who have no interest in the paper except in its conduct in accordance with the broad lines of policy laid down by the founder in the Constitution, Rules and Regulations, which require that the paper should pursue a liberal, progressive and independent policy keeping in view the larger interests of the State and the country.

In the second decade of the 20th Century Annie Besant came into prominence in the political field with Home Rule as India's goal. She purchased the *Madras Standard,* changed its name to *New India* and published it from July 14, 1914, under her own editorial control. She was also editing the *Commonweal,* a weekly paper first published in the January of that year. In 1916, she started her Home Rule League six months after Tilak had founded his. The *New India* was a fiery champion of Home Rule for India and Annie Besant's forthright attacks on the Government of the day enhanced the popularity of the paper. When proceedings were instituted against the paper during the Governorship of Lord Pentland, she appeared before the High Court herself and argued the first case for her paper. Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar argued the other cases on behalf of *New India.* The *New India* was asked to furnish a security of Rs. 2,000 in the first instance which was forfeited and a second security of Rs. 10,000 was demanded of the paper.

In her first appeal to the High Court Annie Besant drew attention to the fact that among the articles filed as justifying the forfeiture of the security deposited by the *New India,* three were extracted from Bombay papers against whom no action had been taken. The High Court of Madras ruled that the action of the Magistrate was illegal but that they had no power to override the executive. In her evidence before the Press Laws Committee of 1921, Annie Besant said that between 1910 and 1916, the date of the case against the *New India,* some 220 papers had suffered under the Act but only six had been tried. Of the second security demanded of the *New India,* she gave details of the circumstances in a written statement:—

"The law allows the security to be given in cash or Government Promissory Notes. The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha pointed out in Council when the bill was under discussion that the keeper of the Press would always have interest for the money. Mr. Pelly, acting under orders from the Government refused G.P. Notes which bore interest. Rs. 10,000 were taken and no interest was ever paid; a continuing fine was thus levied. When the journal changed its editorship and was transferred to another press, the old editor and keeper declared the cessation of his editorship and ownership and the transfer was registered by Mr. Pelly without demur. With his declaration, the old keeper had a right to the return of his security. A new Magistrate arrived and refused to return it, although the act makes the Magisterial entry final

evidence. The Magistrate in "his discretion" refused to pay it over and kept a security of Rs. 12,000 an illegal amount—for I believe a couple of years—with no interest paid, till a new Magistrate came who at once handed over the money. If such things can be done in Madras what may not be done against unknown people by a high handed Magistrate. A Magistrate can break the pledges given by the Government on the strength of which Indian Members were persuaded to pass the measure, and there is no redress."

Before and during the internment of Annie Besant, arrangements were made for conducting *New India* and the allied publications. Mr. P. K. Telang was chosen to be the editor and he continued the paper with the assistance of Arundale, B. P. Wadia, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, all of whom were intended to step into the breach successfully in case of arrest or internment. The circulation of the *New India* increased substantially during the period of internment and the period of all-India agitation that followed it. The *New India* attained a phenomenal circulation which was maintained until Annie Besant, both personally and in the editorial columns of the paper, set her face against Gandhi's non-co-operation and satyagraha campaign. After her well known saying that brickbats cannot but be met with bullets, the circulation of *New India* declined with a rush.

Annie Besant favoured the total repeal of the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908 as well as of the Indian Press Act of 1910 and was of the opinion that the Press and Registration of Books Act should be amended to require a declaration by the editor. She was of the view that newspapers guilty of incitement to violence and sedition should be dealt with under the ordinary law after a judicial trial. She was a strong critic of direct action and of Gandhi's writings in *Young India*. In a written statement to the Press Laws Committee, she said:—

"Mr. Gandhi in *Young India* is allowed every week to excite hatred and contempt against Government in language compared with which criticisms of Government that have ruined many papers are harmless; he is even allowed to approach perilously near high treason by saying that he would 'in a sense' assist an Afghan invasion of India, while papers that one has never heard of, wielding little influence, have their securities forfeited or heavily enhanced. An administration, which with flagrant injustice allows the main offender and inspirer of hatred, who proclaims 'war against Government' speaks of 'paralysing' it or 'pulling it down' to go scot free while crushing small offenders encouraged by his example undermines in the community all respect for law and for the authority of the Government and the law thus abused should immediately be repealed. I rejoice that the Government is strong enough to treat Mr. Gandhi's vapourings with contempt instead of bestowing on him the martyrdom he courts. But I urge that a law not enforced against the influential should not be allowed to crush the weak and poor".

Annie Besant made no secret of her views and vigorously criticised Gandhi's non-co-operation policies. In February 1919, when Gandhi announced his intention to resort to passive resistance against the Rowlatt Act, Annie Besant warned him that any such movement as he contemplated would result in the release of forces whose potentialities for evil were incalculable. She supported the Rowlatt Bills on the ground that they contained nothing to which an honest citizen could take exception and wrote in *New India* that "When the mob begins to pelt them (soldiers) with brickbats, it is more merciful to order the soldiers to fire a few volleys of buckshot." There was countrywide indignation at this comment and Annie Besant's waning popularity rapidly declined but, undeterred, she persisted in her unsparing criticism of the Government as well as her condemnation of passive resistance and direct action. When

Gandhi began his Salt March in 1930, Annie Besant described the clash with authority as a mock fight.

Sometime after the *New India* was started in 1915, the Justice (non-Brahmin) Party came into existence with a newspaper called *Justice*. Annie Besant's *New India* had made serious incursions into the circulation of the *Indian Patriot*, edited by Karunakara Menon. The non-Brahmin Party organised by P. Theagaraya Chetty, T. M. Nair, the Raja of Panagal and others, was looking out for a paper of its own. They saw in the decline of the *Indian Patriot* an opportunity to obtain control of the paper. An added reason was that the *Indian Patriot* press had issued a number of bulletins entitled "Non-Brahmin Letters" which set forth the grievances of the community in the matter of their exclusion from the public service. Karunakara Menon, however, declined to sell the paper or to change its policy to suit Justice party. T. M. Nair himself became the editor of the *Justice* which was started from scratch in 1917. After a while, however, he gave over the editorship to Sir. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar under whose able control the paper flourished for some years. The Justice Party favoured acceptance of office and the assumption of power by it contributed to its strength. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar had to give up the editorship of the paper when he was called away to the Government of India. With the Justice Party itself out of power in the State, the paper languished and ceased publication in the late thirties in favour of its successor, the *Liberator* (1942), edited by Dr. Krishnaswamy Mudaliar, which also ceased publication in 1953. On reason for the weakness of the Justice Party and the paper was that it was never able to live down the reputation of having been sponsored by the British. Chintamani in his "Indian Politics since the Mutiny" wrote:

"Can the Government of Madras be wholly acquitted of partiality for the non-Brahmin movement which has found concrete expression in the Justice Party? I fear not. An illuminating piece of evidence was furnished during the examination by Lord Sinha of Sir Alexander Cardew, who was so prominent in the Government of Madras in those years. before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill of 1919. Sir Alexander having emphatically denied that the Government of Madras had at any time done anything to stimulate the growth of the Justice Party. Lord Sinha confronted him with a passage in an official resolution which bore the signature "A.G. Cardew" with the result that the witness had to look small and give up his assertiveness. The examination of Sir K. V. Reddy by Mr. Montague before the same Committee was equally interesting and suggestive in this connection".

There was furthermore the suspicion that the non-Brahmin Party was one of the elements organised by E. S. Montagu during the tour of India when he rallied the moderates in support of the 1919 reforms. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the *Indian Patriot* ceased publication in the early twenties.

In 1920 when Gandhi launched his first non-co-operation movement, the Congress felt the need for a paper of its own in the Madras Presidency. By common consent and its own inclinations the *Hindu* was permitted to function as a progressive nationalist newspaper without coming under the direct influence of any party. The initiative was taken by Sri T. Prakasam (now Chief Minister of Andhra) who started the *Swarajya* in 1922. with a band of earnest workers including Sri G. V. Krupanidhi, Sri Khasa Subba Rau, Sri K. Ramakotiswara Rao, Sri K. Srinivasan and Sri N. S. Varadachari. The paper gained in popularity in

a matter of weeks. Its dynamic rise and its subsequent decline are recalled by Sri Khasa Subba Rau in a recent article contributed to the *South Indian Journalist*:—

"In the early years of *Swarajya*, crowds used to gather in the evenings in front of the office blocking the traffic, so eager were they to be first in the field to get the day's issue. The paper established for itself a remarkable hold on the affections of the public, it won for itself an immense popularity, and failure seemed out of the question. Yet it failed. It was due to the wrong choice of managers. Some of them had the wierdest notions of economy. They applied to it eccentric ideas which ruined it on the business side and eventually brought it to collapse.

"Sri Prakasam had a confident nature that was never daunted by adverse circumstances. He could never recognise defeat even after it had seized him. He lacked the businessman's flair of suiting means to ends. So he went on, feeding the paper, first with his savings to the tune of some Rs. 3 lakhs, then the sale proceeds of his houses and lands till nothing was left, and then with contributions from the public. Meanwhile the economic condition of the paper grew from bad to worse, and important members of the staff left, to seek their fortunes elsewhere. After a heroic struggle of a dozen years the paper finally had to close down.

Swarajya fitted into the need of the time, and it rendered, while it lasted, a service unsurpassed to the cause of journalism. In some respects, its very defects proved beneficial. As it never made profits, the proprietorial note was altogether absent in its working. There was perfect comradeship between members of the staff. As the chief at the top had given his all to the paper and kept no reserve of security for himself, we were a little ashamed of adding to his troubles by claiming our dues at the end of each month.

The work of the office was done with a devotion that drew no encouragement from economic stimuli. Even the compositors slaved for the paper without thinking of overtime wages. The spirit of dedication in the service of a cherished institution in defiance of the profit motive has, with the advent of rich and prosperous owners, all but disappeared now-a-days from the Press, and labour is measured in hours in exchange for so much payment mechanically, like a commodity, but that spirit blossomed into its choicest in *swarajya*, filling the journalism of the day with its unique fragrance and we shall have need of it if this entrancing profession is to preserve its sense of mission and save itself from lapsing into a mere pot-boiling trade."

In Bengal, C. R. Das who had, with Gandhi's consent, formed the Swaraj Party to wreck the constitution from within the legislature, also felt the need for a newspaper. He had earlier been associated and even contributed to Aurobindo Ghose's *Bande Mataram*, but he had never shouldered the responsibilities of editing a daily newspaper. In 1923, he laid all arrangements in train to contest the general elections and capture as many seats as possible in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. He had the support of the *Bengalee* which was then being edited by Prithwis Chandra Ray. He, nevertheless, started the *Forward* as the daily organ of the Swaraj Party. Like the *Swarajya* in Madras, the *Forward* captured the public imagination in Bengal. Largely due to his own vigorous writings, it exceeded his own expectations both for the party and for the paper. The *Forward*, however, declined precipitately after his death in June 1925 and it led an inconsequential existence till 1929, when, as a result of an action for damages in which *Pioneer* of Allahabad was also involved, it was fined a lakh of rupees and had to cease publication. It was re-started under the name of *Liberty* and a few years later re-appeared as the *Forward*, but its promoters were unsuccessful in establishing the paper in the face of successive prosecutions. In the same year, the *Advance* was founded by J. M. Sen Gupta, which, after many

[illegible]

केसरी.

[illegible]

स्थितिं नो रे दध्याः क्षणमपि मदांधेक्षणसखे गजश्रेणीनाथ त्वमिह जटिलायां वनभुवि ।
असौ कुंभिभ्रांत्या खरनखरविद्रावितमहा-गुरुग्रावग्रामः स्वपिति गिरिगर्भे हरिपतिः ॥

वर्ष १. पुणें:—मंगळवार तारीख ४ जानेवारी १८८१. अंक १.

आज मुंबई इलाख्यांत इतकीं मराठी वर्तमानपत्रें निघत असतां व या शहरांत ही दोन चार चालत असतां, नव्या वर्तमानपत्राची काय जरूर आहे हा विचार आमच्या वाचकांच्या सकृद्दर्शनीं मनांत येणारा आहे. वास्तव प्रथमतः या पत्राचा उद्देश लोकांस कळविणें अवश्य आहे.

वर्तमानपत्रांचा प्रघात पडल्यास आज वीसपंचवीस वर्षें जरी होऊन गेलीं, व गेल्या दहापंधरा वर्षांत तर त्यांच्यांत जरी पुष्कळ सुधारणा झाली, तरी अद्याप वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांस आपणांवरची जबाबदारी पुरतेपणीं कळूं लागली आहे, किंवा लोकसुधारणेस आपल्या परिश्रमांनीं केवढें साहाय्य होणारें आहे याविषयीं त्यांचा पक्का समज झाला आहे, असें सामान्यतः पाहतां आढळणार नाहीं. दोन चार नामांकित वर्तमानपत्रां खेरीज बाकीच्यांची जर स्थिति पाहिली, तर वर्तमानपत्र म्हणजे जागोजागच्या बातम्या प्रसिद्ध करण्याचें साधन या पलीकडे वरील शब्दाचा अर्थ पत्रकर्त्यांच्या मनांत कधींही येत असलेला वाटत नाहीं. आलीकडे तर लहानसान गांवांतून सुद्धां वर्तमानपत्रें निघूं लागलीं आहेत. छापखाना घालणें व पत्र काढणें हा एक व्यापारच बनल्यानें ज्यास विद्येचा विशेष संस्कार नाहीं अशा मंडळीच्या हातींच वरील दोन अमोलिक साधनें पडलेलीं बहुधा आढळतात. त्यायोगें खरें आहे कीं, कोणत्याही तऱ्हेनें को होईना, वरील दोन साधनांची वृद्धि ही एकंदर देशास श्रेयस्करच आहे. निदानपक्षीं लोकांत वाचण्याचा प्रघात तरी त्यास वरील साधनांचा उपयोग आहे. पण याच उद्योगांत वरच्या पेक्षां चांगली मंडळी पडली असतां लोककल्याणाचा मार्ग ज्यास्त खुला होणार आहे हें उघड आहे.

वर्तमानपत्राचा मुख्यतः दोन प्रकारांनीं मोठा उपयोग आहे. एक हा कीं, त्यांनीं आपलें काम निःपक्षपातपणें व निर्भीडपणानें बजावलें असतां सरकारी अधिकाऱ्यांवर मोठा दबदबा राहतो. [illegible] दिवे लागलेले असल्यानें व पोलिसांची गस्त फिरत असल्यानें जो उपयोग होत असतो, तोच या जागीं वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांची लेखणी सदोदित जागृत असल्यानें होत असतो. सरकारी अधिकाऱ्यांनीं आपापलीं कामें चोख रीतीनें चालविलीं असतां त्यांत प्रजेचें किती कल्याण असतें हें कोणास सांगावयास नकोच. पण वरील चोखपणा राहण्यास त्यांचा सर्व कारभार जेव्हां लोकांच्या नजरेसमोर वरचेवर येत जाईल तेव्हां राहणार. सर्व गोष्टी सर्वांच्या समक्ष होत असल्या म्हणजे अर्थातच लांचलुचपत वगैरे अन्यायाचे प्रकार एरवीं होण्याचा संभव असतो तो पुष्कळ अंशीं नाहींसा होतो. जुन्या एतद्देशीय संस्थानांतून वरील प्रकार किती चालत असे, व अद्याप किती चालतो, हें क्षणभर लक्षांत आणलें असतां पत्रकर्त्यांची गस्त लोकांस किती हितावह आहे हें कोणाच्याही लक्षांत आल्या वांचून राहणार नाहीं. विलायतेंत खुद्द महाराणी साहेबांपासून व मुख्य प्रधानापासून तों अगदीं छोट्या सरकारी कामगारापर्यंत सर्वांच्या कारभाराकडे लोकांची नजर वर्तमानपत्रांच्या द्वारें सारखी लागून राहिलेली असते, त्यामुळें कोणता ही अन्याय प्रायः छपला जात नाहीं, व [illegible] तेथील लोक युरोपांतील इतर राष्ट्रांहून पुढें आहेत ही गोष्ट सर्व प्रसिद्धच आहे.

तर सरकारी अधिकारी आपापलीं कामें [illegible] पण्या तऱ्हेनें बजावितात याविषयीं [illegible] बुद्धीनें व कायद्याची भीड न [illegible] ण्याचा आमचा इरादा आहे. [illegible] आहे तेव्हां त्याच्या विरुद्ध कांहीं लिहिणें, किंवा [illegible] अमुक अमुक गोष्ट [illegible]

Kesari; Poona, January 4, 1881

Overland Mail.]

THE INDIAN STATESMAN,

[In which the FRIEND OF INDIA is incorporated.]

EDITED BY ROBERT KNIGHT.

VOL. I. No. 1.] CALCUTTA: TUESDAY, JANUARY 1st, 1884. [Rs. 12 per year.

NOTICE.

The INDIAN STATESMAN *is intended to supply the place of the* LONDON STATESMAN, *strong regret having been expressed by many leading men in England, at the discontinuance of that paper.*

The journal will be specially prepared for members of the two Houses of Parliament, for the leading English journals, the mercantile centres at home, and for the political clubs and institutions of the country. What is especially wanted by Parliament, is concise information as to the course of political discussions in India, and the INDIAN STATESMAN *is published to meet this want. The paper will be limited in extent but carefully edited, so that members of the House, and men engaged in business, may see at a glance what the political position really is. The want is—a concise and readable Summary of political and financial Intelligence, and of the economic changes that are taking place in India, presented in such a form that even busy men may be able to master its contents.*

Special attention will be given by the journal to the treatment of the Native Princes of India, to prevent a recurrence of the scandals which have constantly been recurring in the last forty years, from the oppressive proceedings of the Indian Foreign Office, the character of which is seldom known by Parliament. With Mails coming into London from all parts of the world, at all hours of the day, busy men require compact information, and the INDIAN STATESMAN *will meet we believe a want that is felt in all political circles throughout the United Kingdom. The paper will be published every Mail day, and will give the latest quotations of all important Stocks, the state of the Cash Balances and Government Treasury, &c., not so much for information of the general reader, as for a reliable record of these matters, over a course of years.*

Subscription, without Postage ... Rs. 12 a year.
" including Foreign Postage " 18 " "

SUMMARY.

THE opening of the New Year finds all minds in Calcutta preoccupied with the so-called 'compromise', which the Government proposes to make with the Anglo-Indian Association over the Ilbert Bill; and with the visit for the first time, of a Nizam of the Deccan to the capital of the Empire. The proposed settlement of the Ilbert Bill is called a compromise, but is in effect a complete surrender by the Government, to the violent agitation of the non-official Anglo-Indian community. The compromise was received with a sort of dazed feeling by all parties, the Europeans getting more than they even asked for. The Government in effect, proposes to abolish all summary jurisdiction in the mofussil whatever, in so far as the English residents therein are concerned, and the planter is henceforth kindly to 'try himself' when accused of crime.

THE visit of the young Nizam to the capital has been seized by the daily *Statesman*, as the opportunity it had long waited for, to lift the veil off the state of matters at Hyderabad, and to show the utter corruption of the Residency officials at the Nizam's capital. The acting Resident's brother, Mr. Trevor, has just been permitted to lift the lid of the Nizam's treasury, and walk off with Rs. 1,00,000, the Residency conniving at the transaction. The particulars will be found below.

THE "Life of Sir Henry Durand" brings into strong relief once more the fatal character of the system under which the nation permits the Foreign Office of India to outrage its native Princes without hope of remedy or redress. There is no Court of appeal for the Princes, under the present Government of the Crown. At the time of the Mutiny, the young Holkar, then but twenty years of age, loyally and resolutely, and at great personal danger to himself, threw in his fortune with ourselves, and saved Indore and all that part of Central India from going into rebellion. But Sir Henry Durand committed a most lamentable error on the occasion of the outbreak, in the judgment of every one upon the spot, and in that of Lord Elphinstone, and Lord Canning himself. To redeem his reputation from this blot, Durand insisted that the young Prince had been disloyal for at least three or four hours during the outbreak, and getting the ear of Lord Canning as his Foreign Secretary a year later, he made the Viceroy—as every Secretary under the present system of Government does—adopt his own interested and unworthy view of the young Prince's conduct. The Government having once committed itself to the wrong, refuses to undo it, and whatever it was in the power of the Crown to do to demoralize and ruin the Prince, by affecting to treat him as a 'suspect,' it has done. Were Parliament to appoint a select committee of inquiry into the subject, it would not take a week's sittings of the members, to show how gross has been the life-long injustice we have done to this Prince. We have reviewed the subject at length below.

A SPECIAL feature of this journal will be a weekly record of the 'Returns' that should be called for in Parliament concerning current affairs in India, and of the 'Interpellations' which should be made thereon. It must be remembered that there are no representative assemblies of any kind in India, in which such information can be called for, and that the Government regards the information in its hands with an almost insane jealousy, as though it were the private property of the bureaucracy. There is no appeal from India to the Crown, the Council in Downing-street being the mere *alter ego* of the Council here, from which it is perennially recruited. They are one body in fact, and the result is that the Secretary and Executive Council of the Viceroy, do whatever they please. The Secretary of State and the permanent Under-Secretary are powerless. They never know the true history of any matter that the Secretaries care to conceal from them, and the extent to which this concealment is practised, is the most fatal defect of the present system of Government. The old Court of Directors, with the Court of Proprietors behind them, were a real Court of appeal, and the jealousy with which they regarded all infractions of their authority, made it impossible for the Indian Governments to deceive them for any length of time. There was no hope under the old Court, of important transactions being falsified with impunity by the local Government, as is now perpetually done under the Crown. Neither the Viceroy, nor the Secretary of State has any chance of forming an independent judgment upon the action of the permanent departmental Secretaries in India, everything being submitted to them in *précis* form. The interminable 'records' on the file of any given subject are filtered through this process of *précis* writing, in which everything that is inconvenient is suppressed, and such facts and considerations only are put forward, as justify the traditional and infallible action to which the department is committed. It is nothing but the high character of the nation, reflected generally in the departments, that has saved India from a despotism of a most unscrupulous and corrupt order. As it is, it is a refined sort of Jesuitism that rules everything. The men are false with the consciousness of being sincere. The remedy is Light, and if Parliament will insist upon the 'Returns' that we shall indicate as necessary, and press home the 'Interpellations' that we shall suggest—the practical falsehood of the departments will soon dawn upon the nation, to the inauguration of adequate reform.

Returns to be called for in Parliament.

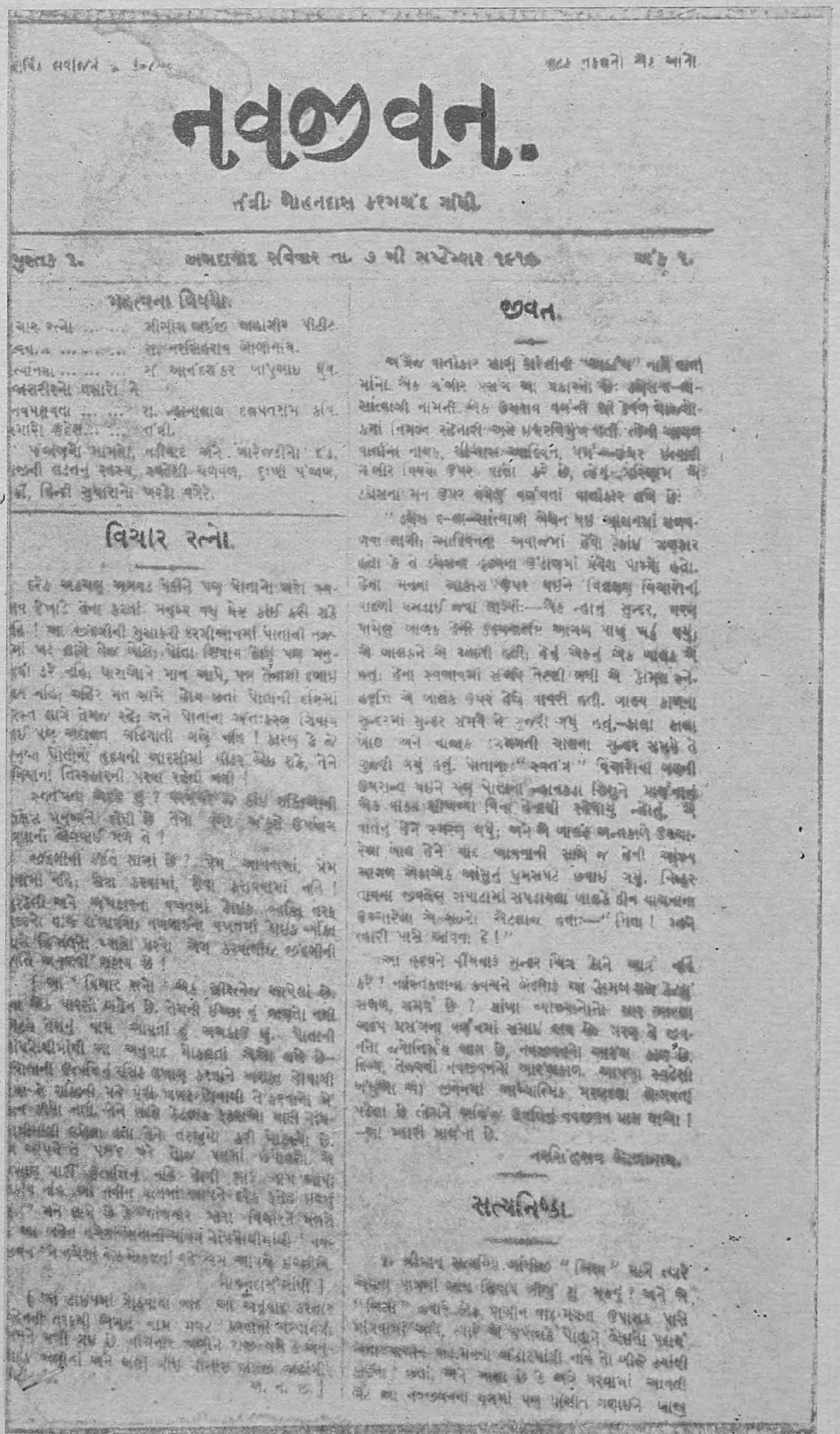
A RETURN showing the present position of the Nizam's Government in the matter of the existing Railways in his territory, and of the new scheme of Railway extension that is being urged upon his sanction by the Residency, in the interests, as is asserted, of a body of promoters in London.

[NOTE.—*The extension is a gigantic job which the Residency is urging on the Nizam's Government.*—ED., *I.S.*]

A Return of the papers in the Calcutta Foreign Office, including all the demi-official and confidential correspondence and minutes, on the subject of the Maharaja Holkar's treatment by that department of the State, in connection with the Mutiny of 1857.

[The papers are not very voluminous, but most damnatory.—ED., *I.S.*]

The Indian Statesman: Calcutta, January 1, 1884


નવજીવન.

તંત્રી: મોહનદાસ કરમચંદ ગાંધી.

અમદાવાદ રવિવાર તા. ૭ મી સપ્ટેમ્બર ૧૯૧૮

વિચાર રત્નો.

જીવન.

સત્યનિષ્ઠા.

Navjivan: Ahmedabad, September 7, 1918

Young India

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

New Series Vol. [illegible] No. [illegible] } AHMEDABAD, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1919. } Price One Anna Per Copy.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

No Security

As "Nava Jivan" was having considerable difficulty about printing and as arrangements were being made to print 'Young India' in Ahmedabad the [illegible] Press of Ahmedabad has now been purchased and it is rechristened "Nava Jivan Press". Three declarations had therefore to be made, one in connection with the Printing Press, the second in connection with the transfer of 'Nava Jivan' to the new Press and third for the transfer of "Young India" to that Press. "Nava Jivan," when it became a weekly was subjected to a security of Rs. 500. "Young India" escaped security because the Printer was also the keeper of the Press where it was published. The Press in Bombay was itself under security. It therefore was a question how "Young India" and "Nava Jivan" would fare as also the Press itself, but after mature consideration the District Magistrate has not imposed any security on the keeper of the Press nor on the Publishers of the respective papers. Where security makes no difference to a journalist, a waiver really enhances his sense of responsibility. So long therefore as the objectionable features of the Press Act continue to disfigure it, exemption from security, whilst it is creditable for the Government, it can hardly be a matter for congratulation to the controllers of any particular organ so exempted.

"We are apt to Make Mistakes."

The Hon. Mr. Sinha whilst he was speaking to the Indemnity Bill was led into a confusion of terms. He was pulled up by Sir George Lowndes, and his Excellency the President defended Mr. Sinha by saying it was a slip of the tongue. Mr. Sinha then made these frank and dignified remarks; "It is hard for your Excellency to realise what our difficulties are in speaking a foreign tongue in this council. We are apt to make mistakes." This is only too true. We are apt to make mistakes in our own mothertongue. But they are never so ludicrous as when we attempt to speak in a foreign tongue. Professor Jadunath Sarkar has remarked that our having to speak and think in English puts a strain upon us from which we never fully recover. The remedy for the evil is that we must begin self-government by introducing our own speech in our own assemblies, provincial vernaculars in the provincial legislatures, and Hindustani, a resultant of Hindi and Urdu—in the Imperial Council. We cannot make a better beginning than by adopting the change in the Congress and the Conferences. In adopting English as the medium at these gatherings we have done a positive disservice to the masses who have but a vague idea of the proceedings of these annual gatherings. By persisting to conduct them in English [illegible] have actually put obstacles in the way of the masses getting political education. Imagine what would have happened if we had during the thirty five years' existence of the Congress deliberated in Hindustani instead of English which is understood only by a microscopic minority of our countrymen.

Six "Suppressed Class" Schools in Ahmedabad.

No less than six schools for children of the "suppressed class," started through the laudable efforts of Anasuyaben Sarabhai were opened by Mr. Gandhi in Ahmedabad on Sunday the 21st September. All these are night schools with all their teachers belonging to the supressed class and working without remuneration. A number of prominent ladies and gentlemen attended the opening ceremony. A remarkable passage from Prof. Anand shanker Dhruva's most instructive speech on the occasion may be translated here. He said:

Untouchables some of us are, or all. Those whose hearts are polluted by the presence of the untouchable spirits,—vanity, infatuation, hate greed etc. are untouchables, even though they be Brahmins by birth. Those socalled untouchables whom these deadly enemies dominate not are worthy of our adoration. There is no religion in Hinduism that we should abandon you (socalled 'untouchables') or that we should not touch you. It is the duty of us Hindus to help you in every way. Most of my time has been spent as a teacher and I am delighted to be present on this occasion. I wish education may help you all to be good."

We congratulate the organisers in securing the attendance of Professor Dhruva at the function and an emphatic pronouncement from him on the question of untouchability.

vicissitudes, continues publication today as the English counterpart of the *Vishwamitra* of Calcutta (founded 1916).

Round the bend of the century and in the first two decades, a number of important newspapers and periodicals came into existence. They may be briefly mentioned here. In 1899, Rabindranath Tagore started the *Sadhana* under the editorship of his nephew, Surendranath Tagore. Ramananda Chatterjee started on his long and distinguished journalistic career as editor of the *Kayastha Samachar,* an English weekly, started from Allahabad by Sachchidananda Sinha. It was converted into the *Hindusthan Review* the following year, and published from Allahabad till 1921. In 1925, it was transferred to Calcutta under the editorship of K. C. Mahindra and later removed to Patna when Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha resumed its editorship.

In 1900, G. A. Natesan started the *Indian Review* from Madras and Ramananda Chatterjee, who was editing Dr. Sinha's weekly, founded the *Prabasi* which was to be followed seven years later by the *Modern Review* through whose columns he expressed himself throughout his life. In 1908, he transferred the *Modern Review* and the *Prabasi* from Allahabad to Calcutta. The *Modern Review* was produced with great care by Ramananda Chatterjee who put a great deal of work into it. It claimed to be, and fully lived up to the claim of being a complete record of important events and comments with deft touches from the editor's keenly analytical pen. Its columns were open to established and young writers, and many a writer of distinction had his first articles published in the *Modern Review* whose editor was always in search of new talent. Old volumes of the monthly are still prized as valuable works of reference.

Outside India, Gandhi took over in 1904 the editorship of the *Indian Opinion* in South Africa; it was published weekly in English, Tamil and Gujerati. In 1909, Bepin Chandra Pal founded the monthly *Swaraj* in London and, in 1918, Aurobindo Ghose started the *Arya,* an English monthly from Pondicherry. Important weeklies published in India during the period which have not already been mentioned were Mohammed Ali's *Comrade,* established in Calcutta in 1911 and transferred to Delhi in the following year, the *Servant of India* founded at Poona in 1918 by the Servants of India Society and *Young India* founded by the Home Rule Leaguers of Bombay with Sri Jamnadas Dwarkadas as editor, immediately after the deportation of Benjamin Guy Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle.* Not long after it was started Gandhi took over the editorship (October 8, 1919) of *Young India* as also the editorship of the *Navjivan* which he converted from a Gujerati monthly into a weekly. From 1922 to 1924,when Gandhi was in jail, the two papers were edited by Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Sri Jairamdas Daulatram and George Joseph. *Young India* ceased publication for a time when the Swaraj Party was in power but Gandhi started the *Harijan* soon after under the editorship of Mahadev Desai though most of the contributions came from his own pen.

Gandhi's papers published no advertisements. They enjoyed a wide circulation and his articles were often circulated by the news agencies to the daily Press for publication simultaneously or the day after. His clear and simple style, direct and free from all flourishes, gave Gujerati a strength and vividness of expression which was a valuable contribution to the development of the language. Sri K. M. Munshi in his book *Gujarata and Its Litera-*

ture estimates Gandhi's contribution to the development of the language as follows:—

"Mahatma Gandhi's works in Gujarati may be classified under these heads: (i) the articles in *Navajivana*; (ii) *Atmakatha,* Autobiography; (iii) *Dakshina Africana Satyagrahano Itihesa;* (iv) *Arogya Vise Samanya Janana;* (v) and *Patro,* letters, only some of which have been published so far. Since he became the editor of the weekly *Navajivana* till it stopped in 1932, week after week except when in jail, he has addressed to the Gujaratis his views and theories, his sermons, confidences, and battle-cries. Few other newspapers in the world have had a similar popularity and influence in their area of circulation as this small, unostentatious sheet which never screamed a headline and never published an advertisement. With many, it replaced the novel and the Purana in interest. A single copy of this weekly has often brought to a distant hamlet its only journal and gospel of life.

Mahatma Gandhi has given to Gujarati prose a new sense of power. His vocabulary has been drawn from many sources. His style, though sometime loosely woven in construction, is direct, clear and easily comprehensible, the result of precise thinking and an incessant effort to avoid the devious by-paths of rhetoric and sophistry. An unerring sense of proportion keeps both expression and imagination under judicious restraint. The literary element is always subordinated to the author's prime motive, which is to touch the living chord in the reader's heart and vivify him into action. Sometimes, and particularly in *Atmakatha*, the style carried itself with grace. The charms are disposed of well and wisely, and become part of the general effect, not the main source of it. His thunder acquires a severe majesty, his appeal its persuasiveness, his confession its poignancy, as much by proper use of the proper word as by his personality. Sometimes, he is slyly humorous or playful. But he prefers monotony of expression to a varied literary effect. With him, beauty of expression has to be a humble hand-maid to Truth. And the reader invariably falls under the spell of 'the bare, sheer, penetrating power of every line, of his, which, under the stress of some great emotion, attains biblical strength."

In his autobiography, Gandhi defined the objects of journalism as follows:—

"One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; and the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects".

In his endeavour to achieve this in his own journals, he imposed the most rigid disciple on himself which he did not necessarily recommend to other editors. Writing in *Young India* of July 2, 1925, he explained:

"Reference to abuses in the States is undoubtedly a necessary part of journalism and it is a means of creating public opinion. Only my scope is strictly limited; I have taken up journalism not for its sake but merely as an aid to what I have conceived to be my mission in life. My mission is to teach by example and present under severe restraint the use of the matchless weapon of satyagraha which is a direct corollary of non-violence. It is a solvent strong enough to melt the stoniest heart. To be true to my faith, therefore, I may not write in anger or malice. I may not write idly. I may not write merely to excite passion. The reader can have no idea of the restraint I have to exercise from week to week in the choice of topics and my vocabulary. It is a training for me. It enables me to peep into myself and to make discoveries of my weaknesses. Often my vanity dictates a smart expression or my anger a harsh objective. It is a terrible ordeal but a fine exercise to remove these weeds. The reader sees the pages of the *Young India* fairly well dressed-up and sometimes with Romain Rolland, he is inclined to say 'what a fine old man this must be.' Well, let the world understand that the fineness is carefully and prayerfully cultivated. And if it has proved acceptable to some whose opinion I cherish, let the reader understand that when that fineness has been perfectly natural i.e. when I have become incapable of evil and when nothing harsh or haughty occupies, be it momentarily, my thought-world, then and till then, my non-violence will move all the hearts of all the world. I have placed before me and the reader no impossible idea or ordeal".

Gandhi, nevertheless, exerted a powerful influence on the editors of newspapers and he frequently exhorted them to express their views fearlessly without necessarily supporting his views or the policies of the Congress. His appeal to them always was that they should not surrender their conscience. Of the reaction of the Indian Press to the "Quit India" resolution of 1942, Gandhi said in answer to a question:—

"I am proud of the way the Indian Press as a whole has reacted to the Congress resolution. The acid test has yet to come. I hope the Press will then fearlessly represent the national cause. It is better not to issue newspapers than to issue them under a feeling of suppression. At the same time, I do not want them to be blind followers of Congress and to endorse what their reason or conscience rebels against. The national cause will never suffer by honest criticism of national institutions and national policies. The danger to be guarded against is the inflaming of communal passions. The forthcoming movement will mean nothing, if it does not end in bringing communal harmony and honourable peace with the British people. Whatever may be said to the contrary, I maintain that the Congress policy has been framed in no hostile spirit against the British people. For, the spirit behind the policy is wholly non-violent. I do hope, therefore, that the Press will warn those who have the nation's cause at heart against countenancing violence either against the British people or among ourselves. It must retard our progress towards our goal".

On occasion, Gandhi wrote to individual editors sometimes acknowledging the weight of a point in criticism and at other times explaining his point of view in great detail with an earnestness which clearly showed his anxiety to remove misunderstanding rather than silence criticism.

The Hindi papers started during the period were the *Abhyudaya*, a weekly founded and edited by Madan Mohan Malaviya, in 1900, and later edited by his son, Pandit K. Malaviya, the daily *Pratap* of Cawnpore (1913), founded and edited by Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, the daily *Vishwamitra* founded and edited by Mahendra Chandra Agarwala in Calcutta in 1916 and the daily *Aj* of Banaras (1920) founded by Shivprasad Gupta.

Several important Urdu papers were also established in this period. They include Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's daily *Al Hilal* (1912) from Calcutta, the *Hamdam* started from Lucknow by Abdul Bari Saheb with the help of the Raja of Mahmudabad, which six years later was edited by Sri Anis Ahmed Abbasi who also owned and edited the weekly, *Haqiqat* (1919), later converted into a daily.

In the Punjab, the well-known Urdu daily *Pratap* was founded at Lahore (in 1919) by Mahashe Krishen and published from there under his editorship till 1947, when it moved to Delhi after the partition. In 1923, Swami Shradhananda founded the Urdu daily, the *Tej*, at Delhi, which later under the editorship of Deshbandhu Gupta commanded great influence in circulation until 1951 when he was killed in an air crash in Calcutta where he had gone to attend, as its President, a meeting of the Standing Committee of the All India Newspapers Editors' Conference. Also in 1923 was founded the Urdu daily, the *Milap* by Mahashe Khushal Chand at Lahore. Like the *Pratap*, the *Milap* moved over to Delhi where it is now being edited by Sri Ranbir. Both papers bring out separate editions from Jullundur, while one publishes a third edition from Hyderabad.

Journalism in the Central Provinces, now Madhya Pradesh, passed through many vicissitudes. In 1910, Madhavrao Madhye started a Marathi weekly the *Hitavada*, which was published at fitful intervals. The *Desh Sewak*, to which a

passing reference has been made in the earlier review of Tilak's political activities was started earlier under the able editorship of A. B. Kolhatkar, but in 1908, action was taken against the paper for sedition, Kolhatkar was sent to prison and the paper closed down.

A. B. Kolhatkar who later edited and conducted the *Sandesh* first from Nagpur and then from Bombay, truly laid the foundations of Marathi daily journalism. He had an engaging and enchanting style. He created a new taste among the readers and carried political discussions right to the door of not only the lower middle class but the masses. Kolhatkar compared favourably with his contemporary S. M. Paranjpe, editor of the Bombay *Kal,* for the richness of imagery that he brought to bear on his writings. Both Paranjpe and Kolhatkar were equally good on the platform and their speeches were scarcely distinguished from their writings for literary merit and the play of imagination.

Another great journalist who was associated with the *Desh Sewak* was G. A. Ogale who later in 1914 started in Nagpur the *Maharashtra* as a weekly. The *Maharashtra* was *Kesari's* extension from Poona to Nagpur for all practical purposes though entirely independent in every respect. Ogale was 'graduated' so to speak in the Tilak school as a member of the staff of the *Rastramat* the first nationalist daily in Bombay which stopped publication due to the operation of the Press Act. The *Maharashtra* continues to serve the people of Madhya Pradesh as a daily.

In 1913, the *Hitavada* was taken over by the Servants of India Society and N. A. Dravid, one of the founder-members of the Society, became the first editor of the new *Hitavada* which was converted into an English language journal and till 1926 continued as a weekly. It later became a bi-weekly and a tri-weekly, and, in 1939, it became a daily. The *Hitavada* and the *Maharashtra* can be said to be leaders of Madhya Pradesh journalism and played an important part in making the electorate politically conscious in the early years of the Montford Reforms. The first English daily to be started in Nagpur was, however, the *Daily News* in 1933. It was edited by Sri V. S. Venkataraman who was earlier editor of the *Hitavada* weekly for 12 years. In 1939 the *Daily News* was converted into the *Nagpur Times.*

Among Hindi papers, the *Nava Bharat* started publication in the thirties as a weekly and later developed into a daily. The editor of the *Nava Bharat,* Sri R. G. Maheshwari, may be regarded as the pioneer of Hindi daily journalism in Madhya Pradesh. The *Nava Bharat* is published at two centres—Nagpur and Jubbulpore—though these publications are not identical in their editorial get up.

The *Lokmat,* started by a Calcutta business interest, has been another entrant in the field of Hindi daily journalism in Madhya Pradesh. Barring these newspapers which are dailies, Madhya Pradesh journalism has been largely of the periodical variety. Journals like the *Shubhachintak* of Jubbulpore, *Karmaveer* and *Swarajya* of Khandwa and *Matribhumi* of Akola are well known for their contributions to periodical journalism. The *Sarathi* of Jubbulpore was edited by Sri D. P. Misra in the twenties of the century and later it suspended publication. It has now been revived under the same editorship.

Among the editors of Hindi journals in Madhya Pradesh, mention may be made of Sri Makhanlal Chaturvedi, editor of the *Karmaveer,* whose name is well known all over India as one of the forceful writers of Hindi.

CHAPTER XVI

PRESS LAWS & RESTRICTIONS

We must turn now from developments in the newspaper world and the consideration of the course of newspapers to consider the laws affecting the freedom of the Press which were placed on the Statute Book from time to time. There were the Sections 124A and 153A of the Penal Code enacted in 1898. There was also Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code. Four new measures had been enacted between 1908 and 1913, namely, the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908, the Press Act of 1910, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. There was also the Official Secrets Act as amended in 1903. In 1914, the enactment of Defence of India Act added to the restrictions imposed on the Press.

The amended sections of the Indian Penal Code, referred to above, are reproduced below:—

Section 124*A* (*Indian Penal Code*) *as redrafted in* 1898

"Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.

Explanation 1. The Expression 'disaffection' includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation 2. Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not constitute an offence under this section.

Explanation 3. Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section".

Section 153*A* (*Indian Penal Code*)

"Whoever, by words, either spoken or written or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise, promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Explanation. It does not amount to an offence within the meaning of this section to point out, without malicious intention and with an honest view to their removal matters which are producing or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects".

Section 505 (*Indian Penal Code*) *as amended in* 1898.

"Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, humour or report,

(a) With intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier or sailor in the army or navy of Her Majesty or in the Royal Indian Marine or in the Imperial Service Troops to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such; or

(b) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquility; or

(c) with intent to incite, or which is likely to incite, any class or community of persons to commit any offence against any other class or community;

shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

Exception.—It does not amount to an offence, within the meaning of this section, when the person making, publishing or circulating any such statement, rumour or report has reasonable grounds for believing that such statement, rumour or report is true, and makes publishes or circulates it without any such intent as aforesaid."

The Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act of 1908 and the Press Act of 1910 are reproduced in Appendix III.

Reference has already been made to Gokhale's protest in the Imperial Legislative Assembly against ruthless enforcement of the Indian Press Act of 1910. The statement given in Appendix II shows that as a result of the application of the Act upto 1913 a number of newspapers had to close down because they were unable to pay the security demanded. In 1910, the number of newspapers that closed down were as follows: Bombay 4, Bengal 2, Punjab 1, Central Provinces 1, N.W.F.P. 1. In 1911 the closures were: Bengal 1, Punjab 1, Bombay 1. In 1912, the figures were: Bombay 1, Delhi 1. In 1913, one paper ceased publication in the Punjab.

The Press Association of India in a memorandum on the operation of the Act, submitted in 1919, analysed the prosecutions under the Act as follows:—

"The total number of printing presses and newspapers which were old and had existed prior to the Act and against which action of some kind or other was taken under the Press Act, was nearly one thousand, *viz;* 991. Among these there were 286 cases of warning, many of which must have sufficed to cripple small ventures or blocked their progress and expansion once for all. The rest of the 991, *viz.* 705 were cases of the demand of heavy securities and the forfeitures thereof by executive orders whenever the Government thought any publication objectionable. To these have to be added about 70 other cases of securities and forfeitures of presses and papers started after the Act.

Over 173 new presses and 129 new newspapers were stifled at their birth owing to the demand of a security which they could not furnish. The number of prospective presses and papers which did not, owing to the existence of the Act, come into being and take the chance of an exemption of security which as a rule was demandable, must be many times these figures. The effect of the Act on old presses has been even more striking.

Upto the year 1917, 18 out of 22 newspapers ceased publication immediately after demand of security, less, it may be presumed, on account of the pecuniary hardship involved than on account of the tutelage imposed and official displeasure incurred which made any legitimate independence or freedom perilous for them owing to the further executive pains and penalties in prospect. Similarly, during the same period, out of 88 old printing presses doing ordinary printing business from whom security was demanded owing to the mere printing at their presses of some publication or other to which the executive took objection, nearly 40 had to close down owing to the heavy penalty involved.

The total amount of securities and forfeitures, which went into the hands of the Government during the first five years of the Act was nearly five lakhs. The rate of receipts into the Government treasuries since then under this head has been much more accelerated owing to the increased vigour of the repressive policy with which the Act is being worked year after year.

According to another official return made in 1918, over 500 publications have also been proscribed under the Act.

The Defence Act Rules in India were not merely used for war purpose, but also for all political purposes so as to carry out the policy of the Indian Government in regard to repression of political agitation or free public criticism of the normal acts and the methods of the administration in India. The act was indeed welcomed as a useful addition to the normal armoury of arbitrary executive power in India by the officials and used by them as such on all occasions whenever they deemed fit, irrespective of any real war emergency or necessity. By resorting to the simple formula of the Act of acting in the interests of 'Public Safety', they were able to deal with anything which in their eyes was prejudicial thereto by directions to the Press and penal orders of every conceivable character. The time of war was also found convenient for the abuse and misuse of other rarely used powers under existing Acts, such as the Post Office Act, the State Prisoners Act, etc.....The total number of orders under the Defence of India Act to which presses and papers were subjected for purposes unconnected with the war, were very large, varied, arbitrary, contradictory, and often ludicrous to a degree."

Reference has already been made to the security demanded from Annie Besant's *New India.* When she was interned in 1917, there was countrywide concern and agitation. Her popularity rose to its zenith and she was elected President of the Congress. Prosecutions against the Press, however, continued.

A second approach was made to the Government of India on the conclusion of the war in 1918, for the repeal of the Press Act of 1910. The Secretary of State took the initiative and earlier objections to certain provisions of the Act were considered with a view to amendment. Unfortunately, however, wisdom did not prevail and it was decided to postpone consideration of any change or modification in the Press Laws until after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Gandhi, meanwhile, had to his satisfaction, tried out the weapon of passive resistance in Champaran, Kaira and Ahmedabad. He accepted the invitation of the Viceroy (Lord Chelmsford) in April 1918, to attend the War Conference at Delhi, where he supported the resolution on recruiting, and later himself undertook recruiting with enthusiasm, undeterred by criticism from many quarters. The war came to an end and recruiting stopped. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report published in July 1918, had had a mixed reception, and the Congress adopted a resolution at its special session in Bombay, declaring that "the proposals as a whole are disappointing and unsatisfactory". On the heels of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, came the report of the Sedition Committee presided over by Justice Rowlatt, and the Congress at its Delhi session declared that if the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations were given effect to, the Indian people would be deprived of their fundamental rights. Nevertheless, in February 1919, the Rowlatt Bills were introduced in the Central Legislative Council and passed. Gandhi formed a Satyagraha Sabha in Bombay, with a view to organising a countrywide demonstration. He called on adults to observe a 24-hour fast as a preliminary to the suspension of all business on a specified day. Public meetings were on that day to be held throughout India, including the villages, at which resolutions urging the withdrawal of the two measures were to be passed. The date was fixed for March 30 and later postponed to April 6.

Delhi observed the day on March 30, a monster public meeting was held in the Jumma Masjid and the police opened fire in an attempt to disperse the mammoth procession that followed, as a result of which some persons

were killed. Gandhi was invited to Delhi and he agreed to go there after inaugurating the satyagraha in Bombay on April 6.

The satyagraha in Bombay was a complete success. One of the items on the programme was the sale of proscribed literature which included an unregistered weekly, the *Satyagraha,* edited by M. K. Gandhi and published every Monday. The first issue published an article by Gandhi instructing satyagrahis on the methods they should adopt as a protest against the Press laws:—

"Regarding the civil breach of the law governing the publication of newspapers, the idea is to publish in every satyagraha centre a written newspaper without registering it. It need not occupy more than one side of half a foolscap. When such a newspaper is edited, it will be found how difficult it is to fill up half a sheet. It is a well-known fact that a vast majority of newspapers contain much padding. Further, it cannot be denied that newspaper articles written under the terror of the very strict newspaper law have a double meaning. A satyagrahi for whom punishments provided by law have lost all terror can give only in an unregistered newspaper his thoughts and opinion unhampered by any other consideration than that of his own conscience. His newspaper, therefore, if otherwise well edited, can become a most powerful vehicle for transmitting pure ideas in a concise manner, and there need be no fear of inability to circulate a handwritten newspaper; for it will be the duty of those who may receive the first copies to re-copy till at last the process of multiplication is made to cover, if necessary, the whole of the masses of India, and it must not be forgotten that we have in India the tradition of imparting instruction by oral teaching.

"Satyagrahis should, so far as possible, write their names and addresses as sellers so that they may be traced easily when wanted by the Government for prosecution. Naturally, there can be no question of secret sale of this literature. At the same time, there should be no forwardness either in distributing it. It is open to satyagrahis to form small groups of men and women to whom they may read this class of literature. The object in selecting prohibited literature is not merely to commit civil breach of the law regarding it, but it is also to supply people with clean literature of a high moral value. It is expected that the Government will confiscate such literature. Satyagrahis have to be as independent of finance as possible. When, therefore, copies are confiscated, satyagrahis are requested to make copies of prohibited literature themselves or by securing the assistance of willing friends and to make use of it until it is confiscated by giving readings to the people from it. It is stated that such readings would amount to dissemination of prohibited literature. When all the copies are exhausted by dissemination or confiscation, satyagrahis may continue civil disobedience by writing out and distributing extracts from accessible books".

Gandhi left for Delhi and Amritsar on April 7. On reaching the Punjab, he was served with an order prohibiting his entry into the province and as he insisted on going on, he was removed from the train, detained at the Mathura Police barracks and later put into a goods train (April 11) and returned under police escort to Bombay.

Public feeling was roused by Gandhi's reported arrest and raised further to fever-pitch following the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the atrocities perpetrated under the Martial Law regime in the Punjab. A curtain was dropped between the Punjab and the rest of India but it was not long before the happenings leaked out in all their sordid detail and all newspapers without exception, undaunted by the Press laws in force, condemned the occurrences unequivocally. The Anglo-Indian papers stood in a category apart; they either condoned or found extenuating circumstances for the action of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Some even attempted a provocative vindication of the acts perpetrated under Martial Law in the Punjab.

There was renewed purge of the Press. The *Bombay Chronicle* topped the list of newspapers which were victimised. Its editor, Benjamin Guy Horniman, was deported, an action reminiscent of the days of the East India Company. The directors suspended the publication of the paper for nearly a month after which it resumed publication subject to an order of censorship, after having deposited a security of Rs. 5,000 which was later enhanced to Rs. 10,000. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* forfeited a security of Rs. 5,000 and deposited a fresh security of Rs. 10,000. The *Tribune* deposited a security of Rs. 2,000, its editor was sentenced to imprisonment and a fine and the paper suspended publication for a few days. The *Punjabee* suspended publication altogether. The *Hindu* and the *Swadesamitran* of Madras, were asked to furnish a security of Rs. 2,000 each and the former paper was banned in the Punjab and Burma. The *Independent* of Lucknow, was similarly penalised. Three papers were penalised in Sind and two suspended publication. The *Pratap* of Lahore was prosecuted under the Act in respect of certain articles relating to incidents in Delhi and its editor was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. A number of other papers were required to furnish securities.

It was in this atmosphere that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council as Law Member, took up the question of the repeal of the Press Act or its amendment. In March 1921, he constituted a Committee with himself as Chairman, as a result of whose deliberations, the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act of 1908 and the Indian Press Act of 1910 were repealed. The Committee's recommendations in summary were as follows:

"(1) The Press Act should be repealed.

(2) The Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act should be repealed.

(3) The Press and Registration of Books Act, the Sea Customs Act and the Post Office Act should be amended where necessary to meet the conclusions noted below:—

(a) The name of the editor should be inscribed on every issue of a newspaper, and the editor should be subject to the same liabilities as the printer and the publisher, as regards criminal and civil responsibility.

(b) Any person registering under the Press and Registration of Books Act should be a major as defined by the Indian Majority Act.

(c) Local Government should retain the power of confiscating openly seditious leaflets, subject to the owner of the Press or any other person aggrieved being able to protest before a Court and challenge the seizure of any such document in which case the local Government ordering confiscation should be called upon to prove the seditious character of the document.

(d) The powers conferred by sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act should be retained, Customs and Postal Officers being empowered to seize seditious literature within the meaning of section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, subject to review on the part of the local Government and challenge by any person interested, in the proper courts.

(e) Any person challenging the orders of the Government should do so in the local High Court.

(f) The term of imprisonment prescribed in sections 12, 13, 14 and 15 of the Press and Registration of Books Act should be reduced to six months.

(g) The provisions of section 16 of the Press Act should be reproduced in the Press and Registration of Books Act".

One of the questions referred to the Committee was whether the Princes needed any protection from the Press. It was argued on their behalf that the Press Act alone afforded protection from the Press in India fomenting disaffection against the ruler of an Indian State. The Committee was of the view that as the Press Act had been used only on three occasions to protect the Indian princes, it did not feel justified in recommending on general grounds "any enactment in the Penal Code or elsewhere for the purpose of affording such protection in the absence of evidence to prove the practical necessity for such provision of the law". In pursuance of this recommendation, no action was taken in the Legislature to protect the Indian Princes. The rulers of Indian States, however, at a meeting of the Chamber of Princes, asked for special protection for the Indian States and, in order to meet their demand, the Princes Protection Bill was introduced in the Central Legislature. The Indian Press vigorously condemned the measure and the Central Legislative Assembly turned down the Bill at the first stage. The Governor-General, however, exercised his power of certification and recommended its adoption in the form in which it was presented. In 1934, it was replaced by a more comprehensive measure complete with emergency provisions. Criticism in the Indian Press was unequivocal on both occasions, but few papers seem to have realised that the measure would remain a dead letter if only because no Prince was prepared to have his personal and public actions subjected to cross-examination in a Court of Law.

We return now to pick up the thread of political developments. The Hunter Committee was appointed to inquire into the Martial Law excesses in the Punjab. During Martial Law, a number of prominent persons had been arrested including the editors of newspapers. Feelings ran high in the country during the Hunter Committee investigations. They were further roused by its recommendations and the Government action thereon. The special Calcutta session of the Congress held in September 1920, adopted a resolution of full-fledged non-co-operation which included boycott of schools and colleges, law courts, legislatures, and foreign goods. The annual session held at Nagpur in December, changed the Congress creed to the "attainment of swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means". In the following year, the Prince of Wales came to India despite Indian advice that the visit was inopportune. Boycott of the visit led to disturbances in Bombay between the Parsis who decided to welcome the Prince, and those who favoured the boycott. Early in 1922, a representative conference made an ineffectual effort to bring about understanding between the Government and the non-co-operators. Gandhi listed some minimum demands and declared his intention to launch civil disobedience if they were not satisfied. The Chauri Chaura incident of February 4, 1922, resulted in Gandhi suspending mass civil disobedience but he was arrested for certain articles written by him in *Young India* and was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

In January 1924, Gandhi was operated on for acute appendicitis, and in the following month, he was released in order to enable him to convalesce in surroundings of his own choice. After some time at Juhu, Gandhi left for Sabarmati Ashram towards the end of May and in September that year, he imposed on himself a fast of 21 days in order to bring about understanding between the Hindus and Muslims. In December that year, Gandhi presided over the 39th session of the Congress.

In his presidential address, he emphasised a number of significant points; the need for religious and political tolerance, his decision to suspend non-co-operation and to concentrate, in the coming year, all the energies of the Congress on constructive work and the removal of untouchability. The first point is the most significant of the three and marks an attempted departure from the policy of conflict between political parties which had been an unwelcome feature of political life as well as of press comment.

"What is applicable to Hindu-Muslim unity is, I feel, applicable to the unity among different political groups. We must tolerate each other and trust to time to convert the one or the other to the opposite belief. We must go further. We must plead with the Liberals and others who have seceded to rejoin the Congress. If non-co-operation is suspended, there is no reason why they should keep out. The advance must be from us, Congressmen. We must cordially invite them and make it easy for them to come in. You are perhaps now able to see why I entered into the agreement with the Swarajists.

The Congress, therefore, to be worthy of its trust must devise a sanction to back its demands. Before we can forge the sanction, we, Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, etc. must unite and so should Swarajists, No-changers, Liberals, Home-Rulers, Muslim Leaguers and others. If we can but speak with a united voice and know our own mind it would be well. If we can develop the power to keep foreign cloth from our land, it would be better. We are ready then for the sanction".

In pursuance of this objective, the next five years were devoted to an all-out effort on the part of Gandhi and the Congress to bring all elements together behind the combined effort for freedom, irrespective of communal or political differences. Gandhi and the "no-changers" continued to work the constructive programme of the Congress. Their attitude towards Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, leaders of the Congress Swaraj Party, grew more kindly. At the Muslim League session held in Bombay on December 30, 1924, the Bengal Ordinance was condemned and support was pledged to a united front with the Hindus. The session was attended among others by Annie Besant, Motilal Nehru and Vithalbhai Patel, and Shaukat Ali participated in the discussions. Jinnah pressed the demand for separate representation of Muslims in the legislatures. The Muslims in the Congress were led by Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali, both staunch nationalists at the time, and Annie Besant and the Moderate and Liberal elements which counted among its leaders stalwarts like Tej Bahadur Sapru, C. Y. Chintamani, Chimanlal Setalvad, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sankaran Nair, Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and others found themselves much nearer the Congress and Gandhian politics than they had ever been before or were afterwards. By 1925, the dyarchic system of Government had been brought to a standstill by the Swarajists refusing to accept office in Bengal and the Central Provinces. At the Centre, relations between the Swarajists led by Motilal Nehru and the Government were strained to breaking point. The demand for reforms had been twice made, ignored and finally turned down by the Viceroy in his address to the joint session of the Central Legislature. In pursuance of the decision of the All India Congress Committee taken two days earlier, Motilal Nehru announced, in the Central Assembly on March 8, that the Swarajists had decided to withdraw from the Legislatures and "go back to the country for work in the country". The Swaraj Party returned to the Legislative Assembly in August of the same year to contest the Currency Bill framed in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission, which included a proposal to stabilise the rupee at 18d. Soon after the walk-out, the All India Hindu Mahasabha held a session in Delhi

on March 13, which was attended by Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lajpat Rai, Swami Shraddhanand, Bhai Parmanand, Choitram Gidwani, Jairamdas Daulatram, Jamnadas Mehta and Moonje. In the following month the Responsivists joined the Independents and formed the Indian National Party. All attempts to bring the Swaraj Party together again failed and the elections of November 1926 saw Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lajpat Rai, who later formed the Independent Congress Party, ranged against Motilal Nehru. Except in Madras, the Swarajists suffered heavy defeats in all the other provinces.

A year later hopes were raised by the announcement that a Statutory Commission was to be set up to examine the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms but they were dashed to the ground again when the personnel was announced, partly because of the exclusion of Indians and partly because of the persons chosen to serve on the Commission. Even the Liberals decided to boycott the Commission; with the Congress it was a foregone conclusion. Those who were willing to co-operate with the Commission consisted of leaders of the Justice Party in Madras, the Depressed Classes, the Responsivists of the Swaraj Party and a few Liberals, Muslims and Sikhs. There was an organised boycott of the Simon Commission which was greeted with black flag demonstrations wherever it went and Sir John Simon in vain held out assurances that Indians would be associated with the work of the Commission. By a majority of six votes, the Central Assembly adopted a resolution declaring that it would not associate itself in any way or at any stage with the work of the Simon Commission.

At this time, a book which raised a storm of protest in India was published—*Mother India* by Miss Katherine Mayo, an American author. Gandhi condemned it as "a drain inspector's report". Newspapers throughout the country condemned the publications both because of the contents of the book and also because Miss Mayo had, it became known, received considerable assistance from the Government in collecting the material for it. Indignation already roused to fever-pitch was fanned further by reports reaching India that the book had been distributed under British auspices in many countries of the world, particularly in the United States of America. Besides the articles published in the Press, a number of rejoinders was published in book form, the best known being two, which retorted in the fashion of Miss Mayo herself—*Father India* by C. S. Ranga Iyer and *Uncle Sham* by K. L. Gauba.

Hindu-Muslim feelings were roused to a high pitch of bitterness by a socio-religious controversy in which Hindu beliefs, customs and practices were severely criticised in the Muslim Press and by Muslim writers. As a counterblast, *Rajpal, a Hindu writer, published a book *Rangila Rasul* reflecting adversely on the character of the prophet, Mohammad, which incensed Muslim feelings. The author was tried and sentenced in the first instance to 18 months' imprisonment, the sentence was reduced by the Sessions Court to six months and he was finally acquitted by the Punjab High Court. The case roused country-wide interest not only because of the subject matter of the book but because Sir Malcolm Hailey who was then the Governor of the Punjab is said to have indicated in a public speech

*He was stabbed to death soon after while he was sitting outside a bookseller's shop.

what the judgment should be before it was delivered. Sir Shadilal who was then Chief Justice lodged a protest and it was believed at the time committed any such offence."

In the *Vartman* case of another offence of the same nature, however, the judicial verdict was that Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code was applicable to it.

In view of the divergent judgments, the Government of India decided to amend the law. A select committee of the Central Legislature re-worded the clause defining the offence in the Act as follows:—

"Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of His Majesty's subjects, by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations, insults or attempts to insult religion or religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with a fine, or with both".

The amended Bill was passed by an overwhelming majority.

A series of strikes in 1927-28 led to an infructuous attempt on the part of the Government to adopt a Public Safety Bill but the dropping of a bomb from the gallery while the Legislative Assembly was in session at Delhi decided the Governor-General, and, exercising his special powers, he promulgated an ordinance to the same effect.

Events followed thereafter in quick succession, the Meerut Conspiracy trial of three journalists among others charged with communist conspiracy commenced early in 1929, and a procession led by Lajpat Rai, in Lahore, to protest against the Simon Commission was lathi-charged and he himself was struck on the chest and had barely recovered from his injuries when he passed away. The Nehru Report containing comprehensive proposals for a constitution for the whole of India was submitted in August 1928 by a Committee constituted by the All-Parties Conference held in Bombay earlier that year. The Congress at its Calcutta Session in 1928 adopted the report in its entirety, subject to the condition that the Government should give effect to it within a year. In the intervening period, Jinnah withdrew his support to the proposals and, later as a reaction, the Hindu Maha-Sabha also withdrew its support.

In May 1929, a Labour Government headed by Ramsay MacDonald came into power. Lord Irwin who was then the Viceroy, went to England for consultations and, in October that year, returned to India and announced that His Majesty's Government proposed to hold a Round Table Conference with representatives of British India and the Indian States before giving final shape to the reforms proposals based on the Simon Commission's report which had not been submitted at the time. The reaction was favourable in certain quarters and meetings were held in Delhi and Bombay assuring Government of a sympathetic response from nationalist leaders. Arising from the Delhi manifesto, as it was then called, Lord Irwin met important leaders including Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Jinnah. A protracted discussion ended in no agreement and the Lahore session presided over by Jawaharlal Nehru formally adopted complete independence for India as the goal of the Congress. The resolution read as follows:—

"This Congress endorses the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by party leaders, including Congressmen, on the Viceregal pronouncement of the 31st of October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the national movement for *Swaraj*. The Congress, however, having consider-

ed all that has since happened, and the result of the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders and the Viceroy, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. This Congress therefore, in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year, declares that the word 'Swaraj' in Article I of the Congress constitution shall mean complete independence, and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee Report to have lapsed, and hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence for India. As a preliminary step towards organizing a campaign for Independence, and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed, this Congress resolves upon a complete boycott of the central and provincial legislatures and committees constituted by Government and calls upon Congressmen and others taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating directly or indirectly in future elections and directs the present Congress members of the legislatures and committees to resign their seats. This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the constructive programme of the Congress, and authorizes the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch upon a programme of civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary".

The Congress was thus set to launch a fresh civil disobedience programme and the Working Committee which met at Ahmedabad in February 1930 authorised Gandhi accordingly and, soon after, the All India Congress Committee supported a general campaign of civil disobedience. Gandhi's salt satyagraha started on March 12, 1930. He reached Dandi on April 5 and was arrested on the same day and taken to Yerawada jail. Hartals, demonstrations, and lathi charges followed. There were disturbances in Bombay and Calcutta, rioting at Sholapur and firing by the police.

The peace between the Press and the Government which had been maintained for nine years, snapped as the peace of the country was disturbed. A Press Ordinance was issued reproducing the stringent provisions of the repealed Press Act (1910). Some 130 newspapers deposited securities amounting to nearly 2½ lakhs of rupees. Nine refused to pay the security demanded and had to suspend publication. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931 relieved the tension somewhat but terrorist activities led to the passage of a Press Emergency Powers Act which, however, was limited to one year and was confined to incitement to violence. The operative clause of section 4(1) read as follows:—

"words, signs, or visible representations which (a) incite to or encourage or tend to incite to or to encourage, the commission of any offence of murder or any cognizable offence involving violence or (b) directly or indirectly express approval or admiration of any such offence or of any person, real or fictitious, who has committed or is alleged or represented to have committed any such offence."

Meanwhile the Round Table Conferences were held in 1930 and 1931 and as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhi went to London to participate in the Conference towards the end of 1931. Differences arose, however, in the Minorities Committee and subsequently over Ramsay MacDonald's communal award and Gandhi dissociated himself from the decisions.

Meanwhile, trouble was brewing in India in the N. W. Frontier and in the United Provinces. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib were leading demonstrations of the Kudai Khidmatgars and Jawaharlal Nehru had launched a no-rent campaign among the agriculturists of U.P. and had been arrested together with T. A. K. Sherwani before Gandhi's return to India.

When Gandhi landed in Bombay on December 8, 1931, he held consultations with the Congress Working Committee on the developments which had taken place during his absence. He cabled to the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, drawing his attention to the Frontier and United Provinces Ordinances, the shootings in the Frontier and the arrests of his colleagues and the Bengal Ordinance and asked whether the Viceroy expected to meet him. The Viceroy replied that he was willing to see Gandhi and discuss the way in which the spirit of co-operation could be maintained, but he expressed his unwillingness to discuss with Gandhi the measures which the Government of India had adopted in the Bengal, United Provinces and the N.W.F.P. Gandhi, in his reply, said that constitutional issues had receded into the background in the face of the ordinances and the action taken by the Government which he denounced as "legalised Government terrorism." He forwarded a resolution of the Working Committee to this effect. The Viceroy deplored the attitude taken by Gandhi and the Congress and declared that no advantage would accrue from an interview "held under the threat of the resumption of civil disobedience." Gandhi, in reply, regretted the decision of the Viceroy and the Government, and while accepting full responsibility on behalf of the Congress and himself for the consequences of civil disobedience, assured the Government that the campaign would be conducted "without malice and in a strictly non-violent manner." Gandhi was arrested on January 4 and later taken to Yeravada prison. Vallabhbhai Patel was also arrested and Jawaharlal Nehru was tried and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. Four ordinances were promulgated and in the next four months, 80,000 persons were arrested. The campaign was carried on despite the Government's resort to every measure of repression and it was at this time that Sir Samuel Hoare declared that "though the dogs barked, the caravan moved on." Simultaneously with Gandhi's arrest, the earlier Press Act (1930) was amplified in the form of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932. Section 4 was expanded to read as follows:—

"4. (1) Whenever it appears to the Provincial Government that any printing press in respect of which any security has been ordered to be deposited under Section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which—

(a) incite to or encourage, or tend to incite to or to encourage, the commission of any offence of murder or any cognizable offence involving violence, or

(b) directly or indirectly express approval or admiration of any such offence, or of any person, real or fictitious who has committed or is alleged or represented to have committed any such offence, or which tend, directly or indirectly:—

(c) to seduce any officer, soldier, sailor or airman in the military, naval or air forces of His Majesty or any police officer from his allegiance or his duty, or

(d) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of justice in British India or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government, or

(e) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security or to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do, or

(f) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or to commit any offence, or to refuse or defer payment of any land revenue, tax, rate, cess or other due or amount payable to Government or to any local authority, or any rent of agricultural land or anything recoverable as arrears of or along with such rent, or

(g) to induce a public servant or a servant of a local authority to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions or to resign his office, or

(h) to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects, or

(i) to prejudice the recruiting of persons to serve in any of His Majesty's forces or in any police force, or to prejudice the training, discipline or administration of any such forces".

The struggle for freedom passed through many vicissitudes between 1932 and 1946. On August 17, 1932, Ramsay MacDonald gave his Communal Award and Gandhi who was in Jail, announced his decision to go on a fast as a protest against the provision of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. There was consternation all round and after protracted negotiations, a substitute formula was evolved reserving for the Depressed Classes, 148 seats in the various legislatures, with provision for primary elections in which the Depressed Classes would vote exclusively and return four candidates for each reserved seat out of which the general electorate would elect one. As a result, Gandhi broke his fast on September 26, and on November 7, in response to his representation, the Government removed all restrictions imposed on Gandhi in the matter of visitors, correspondence etc. to the limited extent of enabling him to pursue his campaign for the removal of untouchability. Gandhi remained in jail and on January 4, 1933, the anniversary of his arrest, public meetings were held throughout the country. Again, there were further arrests. The Congress session, nevertheless, was held at Calcutta on March 31, 1933 and soon after Gandhi undertook a self-purificatory fast of 21 days (May 8, 1933) and he was released on the same day.

There were intervals, though brief, of understanding between the Government and the Congress, particularly in the period between 1937 and 1939 when, as a result of an assurance that the Governor would not interfere with the day to day administration of a province outside the limited range of his special responsibilities, Congressmen decided to return to the Legislatures and assume the responsibilities of office in the provinces. Throughout this period, however, the Press Emergency Powers Act of 1931 remained in force and was applied with greater or less severity, according to the political circumstances. The record of prosecutions in the 15 year period exceeded the number of prosecutions under the 1910 Act. Well over a thousand newspapers were victimised in Bombay, Bengal, Delhi, Madras, the Punjab and the United Provinces. Bombay led with 596 demands for security while Punjab came second with 280. Bengal led with 48 forfeitures of security, Punjab coming second with 37.

When World War II broke out in 1939, the Government of India armed itself with further powers under the Defence of India Act which, among other things, provided for precensorship of material published in the Press relating to certain matters. The penalty of imprisonment was extended to five years. The Official Secrets Act was amended to provide a maximum penalty of death, or transportation, for the publication of information likely to be of use to the enemy. The Press Emergency Powers Act was also similarly amended to provide against the conveying of confidential information

to the enemy or the publication of any prejudicial report which amounted to incitement to the commission of a prejudicial act as defined in the Defence of India Rules.

In 1940, Gandhi launched his Individual Satyagraha movement and a notification was issued by the Government of India which read as follows:—

"In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of any matter calculated directly or indirectly, to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion or of any matter relating to the holding of meetings or the making of speeches for the purpose, directly or indirectly, of fomenting such opposition as aforesaid;

Provided that nothing in this order shall be deemed to apply to any matter communicated by the Central Government or a Provincial Government to the Press for publication".

Soon after the issue of the notification, however, an understanding was reached between the Government of India and a conference of editors which was later constituted into the All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference, and as a result the notification was withdrawn. A system of Press Advisers originally designated as Press Censors, was set up in all the Provinces with the Chief Press Adviser at the centre. The arrangement was that the editor should have the benefit of the advice of the Press Adviser in the matter of the publication of all news coming within the purview of the elaborate Defence of India Rules. The Press Officer, however, exceeded his instruction and in some cases he took so much upon himself that he maintained a rigorous control of the Press. All-India news, the publication of which was permitted in one province, was forbidden in another. Authenticated news was severely censored to the point of its becoming misleading. Headlines were controlled and detailed instructions were issued on the position to be given to the items of news and the types in which they should be displayed. Even proceedings of the legislatures were censored and the full reporting of civil disobedience cases in the law courts was not permitted. Freedom of comment and criticism of the Government and Government officials was also restricted. All powers assumed by the Government were fully exercised and the civil and military censors constituted under the Defence of India Rules, freely suppressed events and views of political significance on the ground that such publication impeded the effective prosecution of the war.

When the Congress adopted the "Quit India" resolution in August 1942, a fresh notification was issued under rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, directly aimed at the suppression of all news relating to Congress activities. It reads as follows:—

"In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of Sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor of any factual news (which expression shall be deemed to include reports of speeches or statements made by members of the public) relating to the mass movement sanctioned by the All-India Congress Committee or to the measures taken by Government against that movement, except news derived from, and stated in the newspaper which publishes it to be derived from—

(a) Official sources, or

(b) the Associated Press of India, the United Press of India or the Orient Press of India, or

(c) a correspondent regularly employed by the newspaper concerned and whose name stands registered with the District Magistrate of the district in which he carries on his work".

Once again the notification was withdrawn after consultation with the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference which gave an assurance that newspapers would observe certain voluntary restraints in the matter of the publication of news regarding the "Quit India" movement organised by the Congress. Several cases were instituted against newspapers but the Press Advisory Committees set up under the auspices of the All India Newspapers Editors' Conference, interceded on behalf of the newspapers concerned and persuaded the Government to hold its hand. Nevertheless, in some "extreme" cases, action was taken against an offending newspaper, more often than not, against the advice of the Press Committees. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, as a body, came into conflict with the Government when it tried to use its extraordinary powers to exclude from publication facts relating to the public agitation over Professor Bhansali's fast. This was in direct violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement between the editors and the Government and, as a protest, the Conference advised all newspapers to suspend publication for a day and to exclude from their papers all Government House Circulars, the New Year honour's list (of 1943) and all speeches of Members of the British Government, the Government of India and Provincial Governments, with the exception of passages containing decisions and announcements. Many Indian newspapers observed the hartal on January 6, 1943 and the other retaliatory measures were also strictly observed. In the meantime Professor Bhansali called off his fast and on January 12, 1943, the Government withdrew the prohibitory order and the ban on the publication of official news was reciprocally withdrawn.

An account of the development of the Press in India would be incomplete without a reference to the unauthorised and cyclostyled news-sheets which were circulated from time to time. Some were published when Press restrictions resulted either in the closing down of newspapers or in newspapers being compelled to exclude news of the national movement from their columns, while others were underground publication even in normal times. Gandhi's instructions for the printing and distribution of unauthorised news-sheets have been given earlier in full text.

A mode of disseminating information and instruction was by means of *Prabhat pheries* which were directed towards stimulating national consciousness and reviving flagging spirits. At one time instructions were communicated by means of writing on walls and on streets.

In 1930, the promulgation of a Press Ordinance made the printing of Gandhi's *Young India* impossible and it was issued in cyclostyled sheets. Commenting on the restrictions imposed at the time, Gandhi in a statement said:—

"I would therefore urge Pressmen and publishers to refuse to furnish security, and if they are called upon to do so, either to cease publication or challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like. When freedom is actually knocking at our doors and when, for the sake of wooing it, thousands have suffered tortures, let it not be said of Press representatives that they were weighed and found wanting. They (the Government) may confiscate the type and machinery. They will not confiscate the pen and still less the speech, but I recognise they can succeed in stifling, what is after all the thing that matters, the thought of the Nation".

Later, he asked the manager of the Navajivan Press not to deposit a security and to allow the Press to be forfeited. As a result the journals issued from the Press ceased publication.

Referring to activities connected with the circulation of news and instruction, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, describes the activities of Congress volunteers as follows:—

"The Prabhat Pheries and Vanar-senas of Bombay were yet to become a historic institution. The roads of Bombay had not as yet been converted into public notice-boards. The Congress Bulletin and its daily publication running up to five figures did not as yet prove the mystery that later it turned out to be, both in regard to the origin of its printing and the man-power behind it. The patriotism and self-sacrifice of the Bombay and Ahmedabad merchants had not as yet developed those resources which later came over so profusely to help the cause of the Congress".

During the movement in the forties, unauthorised sheets were distributed from more than one centre. As no Press was available to the Congress for purposes of printing when a movement was in full swing, the issue followed of unauthorised bulletins, leaflets, news-sheets and reports, which were typed, cyclostyled or even printed, but without disclosing the name of the printer. The vigilance of the police was often evaded for months together, and Congress offices functioned until they were located and closed down and the work was passed on to other persons in other locations.

Soon after the Congress leaders were arrested in 1942, some instructions were issued through circulars, which, according to the allegations of the Government showed that sabotage had been previously planned and organised. The charge was directly levelled at the Congress in speeches delivered by then Home Member in the Central Assembly and in a publication entitled "Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances." Gandhi refuting the charge, pointed out that the Andhra circular made it clear that the whole movement was based on non-violence. "As to the body of the circular," he added, "I could not make myself responsible for some of the items. But I must refuse to judge a thing which I cannot correct, especially in the absence of what the Committee has to say on them, assuming of course that the circular is an authentic document. I miss in the indictment the text of the alleged written amendment raising the ban on the removal of rails."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya rightly points out that underground activity was very much in vogue in occupied Europe at the time, and that underground activities were not only praised but detailed instructions were given by broadcast on how to carry on the work. He wrote:

"Much of the repression was directed against the underground organisation that had been despite the Congress obviously carrying on the revolutionary and subversive activities known as the 'disorders'. That it was there could not be denied, what could and should be denied was that it had anything to do with the Congress organisation. The fact was, as pointed out by Gandhi in his letters to the Viceroy soon after arrest, that the leonine violence of Government drove the people to desperate ways and that through wholesale arrests of the Congress leaders, Government seems to have made the people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control. This was perhaps not all. There were people and parties,—however friendly they might have later become to war efforts, who did not believe in Non-Violence and when they realised that in Gandhi's arrest, Non-Violence itself was 'arrested', they thought that their belief was not altogether amiss and accordingly must have given vent to their pent up feelings and convictions. The Congress was not there to 'repress' them......"So long as a movement is wedded to Non-Violence, so long there is originality but when once Non-Violence is sheded, the methods adopted are mere copies of the secret organisations of Europe".

In year following the end of the war, popular ministries which had ceased to function in 1939, came back into existence with the return of the Congress to power and, a few months later, a popular interim government was installed at the Centre (September 1946). Almost immediately the extensive powers for the control of the Press assumed by the Government of India under the Defence of India Rules, came to an end. Partition, however, was in the offing and the communal situation in many provinces grew tense and, in many parts of the country, riots broke out. In the year 1946-47, therefore, many of the Provincial Governments were compelled to resort to ordinances in order to bring the situation under control. The ordinances were subsequently replaced by emergency legislation for the duration of the disturbed state of the country, by the various Provincial Legislatures. The Press Laws Enquiry Committee of 1948, lists the Laws enacted as follows:

"(i) The Central Press (Special Powers) Act, 1947.
(ii) The Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1947.
(iii) The Bengal Special Powers Act, 1947.
(iv) The Bihar Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1947.
(v) The Bombay Public Security Measures Act, 1947.
(vi) The C. P. & Berar Public Safety Act, 1947.
(vii) The Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1947.
(viii) The Punjab Public Safety Act, 1947.
(ix) The U. P. Maintenance of Public Order (Temporary) Act, 1947.
(x) The Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance, 1948."

The Indian Press recognizing the emergency, raised no voice against these enactments.

In March 1947, the Government of India appointed an Enquiry Committee to report on the Press Laws in force in the country. The Committee was directed to examine the Press Laws in India in the light of the fundamental rights formulated by the Constituent Assembly of India and to suggest such measures of reform in the laws as it considered expedient. Its recommendations, in brief, were as follows:—

1. Certain minor amendments in the Press and Registration of Books Act.
2. The repeal of the Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act, 1922 and the Indian States (Protection) Act, 1934.
3. The repeal of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 and the incorporation of some of its provisions in the ordinary law of the country:—
   (a) The clauses defining the offences to be incorporated in the Penal Code or other law.
   (b) The provisions relating to unauthorised news sheets to be incorporated in the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.
   (c) The provisions relating to forfeiture to be incorporated in the Code of Criminal Procedure.
   (d) Provisions to vest courts of Justice with power to close down a Press for a specified period for repeated violation of the law.

(e) Other minor amendments in the Sea Customs Act and the Indian Post Offices Act.

4. The repeal of the Foreign Relations Act and the enactment in its place of a more comprehensive measure on the basis of reciprocity.

5. The modification of Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code and the exclusion by explanation of the application of section 153-A of the advocacy of peaceful change in the socio-economic order.

6. Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code not to be applied to the Press, separate provision being made, if necessary, in cases of emergency.

7. Amendment of the Telegraph Act and the Post Offices Act to provide for the review by responsible Ministers of Government of the actions and orders of subordinate officers.

The Committee further recommended that all action taken against the Press in the exercise of the emergency powers should be preceded by consultation between the Provincial Governments and the Press Advisory Committees or similar body.

With the adoption of the new Constitution in January 1950, the Government of India were confronted with a new set of problems in regard to the Press. Certain newspapers against whom action had been taken, some with and some without the advice of the Press Advisory Committees, successfully appealed to the High Courts and the Supreme Court which overruled actions of the executive on the ground that they were *ultra vires* of Article 19(2) of the Constitution which laid down that "nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause 1 of the Article (which guaranteed the right of freedom of speech and expression to all citizens) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it related to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of, or tends to over throw, the State".

Apart from the law. the court decisions placed such Press Advisory Committees as had supported action against some newspapers, in an invidious position. Nevertheless, the Government of India's decision to seek to amend Article 19(2) of the Constitution took the editors by surprise and the All India Newspapers Editors' Conference as well as the Indian Federation of Working Journalists recorded an emphatic protest. The Government, however, introduced an amendment which read as follows :—

"(iii) Amendment of Article 19 and validation of certain laws: (1) in Article 19 of the Constitution, (A) for clause (2), the following clause shall be substituted, and the said clause shall be deemed to have been originally enacted in the following form, namely: (2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said sub-clause shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it related to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.

No law in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of the Constitution, which is consistent with the provisions of Article 19 of the Constitution as amended by sub-section (1) of this section, shall be deemed to be void, or ever to have become void, on the ground only that, being a law which takes away or abridges the right conferred by sub-clause (a) of clause (1) of the said Article, its operation was not saved by sub-clause (2) of that Article as originally enacted, and notwithstanding any judgment, decree or order of any court or tribunal to the contrary, every such law shall continue in force until altered or repealed by a competent legislature or other competent authority".

The measure was referred to a Select Committee, Deshbandhu Gupta, President of All India Newspapers Editors' Conference, who was also a Member of Parliament, resolutely opposed the measure, particularly in view of the fact that the Editors' Conference had offered all co-operation to the Government in pulling up the section of the Press which indulged in irresponsible writing. He expressed surprise that editors who were Members of Parliament had been excluded from the Select Committee. In defending the measure, Dr. Ambedkar, the then Law Minister, pointed out that the need for the amendment arose from the judgments of the Supreme Court as well as of the Provincial High Courts. The judgments had declared certain laws, under which action was sought to be taken, as void and inconsistent with the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar drew particular attention to section 4 of the Press Emergency Powers Act which enabled the State to prevent, encouragement of or incitement to offences of murder, or any other cognizable offence. "But as a result of the courts' judgments," Dr. Ambedkar added, anybody could now incite, encourage or tend to incite or encourage the commission of offences of murder or other cognizable offences." The Select Committee amended the clause in the Bill as follows:—

"3. Amendment of Article 19 and validation of certain laws:

(1) in Article 19 of the Constitution.

(a) For clause (2), the following clause shall be substituted and the said clause shall be deemed always to have been enacted in the following form, namely:

(2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, including, in particular, any existing or other law relating to contempt of court defamation or incitement to an offence".

The principal change was the insertion of the word 'reasonable' before the word 'restrictions'. In defence of the measure, the Home Minister, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, assured the Press that Government intended to bring forward a comprehensive measure in consonance with the spirit of the Constitution, and not merely the letter, and to remove all things felt to be bad. There would be no pre-censorship and he was even prepared to go to the extent of providing that every dispute in regard to such matters affecting the Press should be decided by a jury composed of Press editors themselves. The Prime Minister expressed his willingness on behalf of the Government to appoint a Committee or Commission and have on it persons chosen by the All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference and the All India Federation of Working Journalists to examine the state of the Press in India. He asked newspapermen themselves, assisted by one or two others, to collaborate in the examination of the state and content of the Press of all types—big, small and middling—and "report to us what they consider

right in it and what they consider wrong in it and I shall be prepared to accept their judgment in the matter." The amendment was carried by 288 votes to 20.

The All India Newspapers Editors' Conference waited in deputation on the Prime Minister and the Standing Committee of the Conference placed on record its considered view that the proposed amendment to Article 19(2) of the Constitution was unwarranted and uncalled for. The representations were of no avail. After the amendment of the Constitution, the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference met in plenary session in Bombay on June 24, 1951. It adopted six connected resolutions placing on record its emphatic condemnation of the amendment of the Constitution as a threat to freedom of expression; it directed all newspapers and periodicals to publish prominently the following text: "Freedom of expression is our birthright and we shall not rest until it is fully guaranteed by the Constitution"; it called upon newspapers in the country to suspend publication on July 12, 1951, as a mark of protest; it called for every candidate standing for election to pledge himself to work for and secure the repeal of the amendment to the Constitution; and finally it resolved to suspend the working of all committees functioning in an advisory, consultative or associate capacity with the Government.

In actual effect, only a few newspapers suspended publication on the appointed date and a few more published the text prescribed by the Editors' Conference. In some States, Press Liaison Committees continued to function in an informal manner. In the same year, the Standing Committee of the All India Newspapers Editors' Conference and the Working Committee of Indian Federation of Working Journalists separately met Sri Rajagopalachari in Delhi, when he explained to them the purport of the Press (Objectionable Matters) Bill which, although more comprehensive than any earlier legislation, affecting the Press, made all action by Government against the Press subject to judicial sanction. The Press (Objectionable Matters) Act became law in the same year, after some minor amendments suggested by the editors had been incorporated. The operative section of the Act reads as follows :—

"3. *Objectionable matter defined.*—In this Act, the expression 'objectionable matter' means any words, signs or visible representations which are likely to—

(i) incite or encourage any person to resort to violence or sabotage for the purpose of overthrowing or undermining the Government established by law in India or in any State thereof or its authority in any area; or

(ii) incite or encourage any person to commit murder, sabotage or any offence involving violence; or

(iii) incite or encourage any person to interfere with the supply and distribution of food or other essential commodities or with essential services; or

(iv) seduce any member of any of the armed forces of the Union or of the police forces from his allegiance or his duty, or prejudice the recruiting of persons to serve in any such force; or

(v) promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different sections of the people of India; or which—

(vi) are grossly indecent, or are scurrilous or obscene or intended for blackmail.

Explanation (I)—comments expressing disapprobation or criticism of any law or of any policy or administrative action of the Government with a view to obtain its alteration or redress by lawful means, and words pointing out, with a view to their removal, matters which are producing, or have a tendency to produce, feelings of enmity or hatred between different sections of the people of India, shall not be deemed to be objectionable matter within the meaning of this section.

Explanation (*II*)—in judging whether any matter is objectionable matter under this Act, the effect of the words, signs or visible representations, and not the intention of the keeper of the Press of the publisher of the newspaper or news-sheet, as the case may be, shall be taken into account.

Explanation (*III*)—'Sabotage' means the doing of damage to plant or stocks, or to bridges, roads and the like with intent to destroy or injuriously to affect the utility of any plant or service or means of communication".

Under the Act, the Government, subject to a judicial decision, has the power to demand and forfeit security and demand further security from Presses and newspapers, to declare certain publications forfeited, to detain imported packages containing certain publications, to prohibit transmission by post of certain documents to seize and to destroy unauthorised news-sheets and newspapers and to seize and to forfeit undeclared Press producing such publications. Persons who were proceeded against under the Act were allowed the right of trial by jury. The following Central and State Acts were repealed :—

Central Acts :

1. The Indian States (Protection against Disaffection) Act, 1922.
2. The Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 (XXXIII of 1931).
3. The Foreign Relations Act, 1932 (XII of 1932).
4. The Indian States (Protection) Act, 1934 (XV of 1934).

State Acts :

1. The Hyderabad Press and Printing Establishment Act (XII of 1357 F).
2. The Madhya Bharat Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1950 (LXIX of 1950).
3. The Mysore Press and Newspapers Act, 1940 (XIV of 1940).
4. The Patiala and East Punjab States Union Press (Emergency Powers) Ordinance, (XIV of 2006).
5. The Rajasthan Press Control Ordinance, 1949 (KLVI of 1949).

Provisions in the provincial or State Acts listed below relating to the printing, publication or distribution of any newspapers, news-sheet, book or other document, whether by providing for the pre-censorship thereof, or for the demand of security from the printer or publisher or in any other manner were declared void :—

1. The Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1947 (V of 1947).
2. The Bihar Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949 (III of 1950).
3. The Bombay Public Security Measures Act, 1947 (VI of 1947).
4. The Madhya Pradesh Public Security Measures Act, 1950 (XXIII of 1950).
5. The Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949 (XXIII of 1949).
6. The Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1950 (X of 1950).

7. The West Bengal Security Act, 1950 (XIX of 1950).
8. The United States of Gwalior, Indore and Malwa (Madhya Bharat) Maintenance of Public Order Act, Samvat 2005 (VII of 1949).
9. The Patiala and East Punjab States Union Public Safety Ordinance (VII of 2006).
10. The Rajasthan Public Security Ordinance, 1949 (XXVI of 1949).
11. The Saurashtra Public Safety Measures Ordinance, (IX of 1948).
12. The Travancore-Cochin Safety Measures Act, 1950 (V of 1950).
13. The Bhopal State Public Safety Act, 1947 (V of 1947).

The enactment of this measure goes back in principle on the recommendations of the Press Laws Committees of 1921 and 1948 inasmuch as both Committees favoured the dispersal of the provisions against the Press through the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code so as to sustain the principle that the ordinary law of the land rather than special enactments should govern the control of the Press. The two views represent two distinct schools of thought, and, broadly speaking, it may be said that while American opinion favours special laws, the convention in Britain is to secure control of the Press through the application of the general laws of the country. The American Press Commission clearly held that the freedom of the Press does not mean that the general laws of the country should be inapplicable to the Press or that special laws should not be adopted governing certain types of utterances. The real gain to the Press, however, accruing from the enactment of the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act, 1951, is that all executive action has been made subject to the decision of a Court of Law. This gain is not inconsiderable for while action taken under the Press Act of 1910 and the Press (Emergency powers) Act of 1931 ran into thousands, under the present law action has been taken between 1st February 1952 and 31st October 1953 in 134 cases; out of 86 cases in which security was demanded, security was ordered to be taken in 16 cases, 47 cases were pending, applications were rejected in 20 cases, 2 cases were withdrawn and in one case warning was administered. In the other 48 cases, there were orders of forfeiture under section 11. At the same time, it is a point to consider that over a wide area of the Press, the mere thought of prosecution has acted as a deterrent against the full exercise of the freedom of the Press.

It was largely on these grounds that the A.I.N.E.C. persisted in its opposition to the measure even after it was enacted and it was intended that a formal protest should be recorded at a meeting of the Standing Committee convened to be held in Calcutta. Unfortunately, however, the President, Deshbandhu Gupta, was killed when the plane in which he was travelling crashed in Calcutta in October 1951. The activities of the conference were completely disorganised by the calamity. Sri C. R. Srinivasan was appointed to carry on the work of the President. He endeavoured to revive the Press Advisory Committees, and restore good relation between the Government and the Press. In 1952, Sri A. D. Mani, editor, *Hitavada*, Nagpur, was elected President of the All India Newspaper Editors Conference.

The I.F.W.J., at its annual session in April 1952, also recorded its protest against the amendment to the Constitution and the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act and urged a comprehensive inquiry into the working of the Press. The Government of India announced its intention to set up a Press Commission and controversy about the amendment of the Constitution and

the newly enacted Press law subsided. The leading newspaper organisations were invited to name their representatives to serve on the Commission. The All India Newspaper Editors Conference, the Indian Federation of Working Journalists and the Indian languages Newspapers Association nominated Sri A. D. Mani, Sri M. Chelapathi Rau and Sri A. R. Bhat respectively. The Commission started its work on October 11, 1952, under the Chairmanship of Sri Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha.

CHAPTER XVII THE INDIAN LANGUAGE PRESS—II

Developments in the language Press are not easy to trace, chiefly because of the number of languages involved and partly because there is no coherent connected record of progress and growth of the Press in each of the languages. An effort is made, however, to put together such material as is available and present a connected account.

Assamese :

In an earlier chapter reviewing progress of the Indian language Press it was pointed out that newspapers in Assamese were of slow and retarded growth. Assamese has suffered because, while the language is taught in the primary stage, those who have higher aspirations take up Bengali thereafter.

A few journals, some of them inspired by missionary effort, made an appearance in the latter part of the 19th century. The weeklies came first and were later followed by dailies. Prior to the publication of the *Dainik Assamiya* and the *Assam Tribune*, Assam had no dailies whether in English or in Assamese except for the daily *Dainik Batori* of Jorhat which had a short run. The Assamese daily, the *Dainik Assamiya* ceased publication about 4 years ago and a new Assamese daily, the *Natun Assamiya*, under separate ownership and management began to be published. Of weeklies and occasional publications, however, there have been several, of which mention may be made of the *Times of Assam* from Dibrugarh in English (now defunct), the *Assamiya*—the oldest Assamese language weekly of the State and the *Deka Asom* from Gauhati; the *Asom Sevak* from Tezpur, the *Sramik* from Dibrugarh and the *Janmaghumi* from Jorhat. Several papers, mostly weeklies, were published and are still being published from other parts of Assam closer to Bengal which were previously known as the Surma Valley, the more important of them being the *Jugaveri*, the *Assam Herald*, the *Sylhet Chronicle*, the *Janasakti*, the *Jugasakti* and the *Surma*. Many weekly journals made their appearance only to meet with a premature end. One view is that this was because journalists, imbued more with patriotic fervour than with professional acumen, ventured with the personal type of papers which were naturally short-lived.

Bengali :

The Bengali Press has been dealt with exhaustively in the previous chapters. Indeed, Bengal may well claim credit both for pioneering in Indian journalism as well as for giving the lead in socio-religious and political controversies. Besides Bengali and English, the first Persian newspaper the first Urdu newspaper and the first Hindi newspaper were all published in Bengal. Journalism in the Northern Provinces owes its early inspiration to Bengalis, and we have traced the efforts of Bengali enterprise in journalism in places like Banaras, Allahabad, Lahore and Karachi.

The history of the growth of the Bengali Press has thus been dealt with in detail right upto the first decade of this century. This review is a brief account of the growth of the Press in Bengal, dealing primarily with Bengali language papers which came into existence from 1910 onwards.

The only daily publishing at the time was the *Nayak* edited by Panchcowrie Banerjee, an associate paper of the *Bengalee* which, however, pursued an independent policy. There were two weeklies, the *Sanjivini* and the *Hitabadi*. Both were Congress papers, the *Hitabadi*, being founded by Rabindranath Tagore, Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya and others. Manoranjan Guha-Thakurta's *Nabashakti* had fallen a victim to Government action.

The *Basumati*, a well-known Bengali daily, which is still publishing with its weekly and monthly of the same name, was started in 1914 under the editorship of Sri Hamendra Prasad Ghosh. Sri Ghosh set a cautious yet forward course for his paper and soon it made a place for itself in Bengali journalism. Sri Ghosh's ability was acknowledged by his inclusion in a press delegation which visited the theatres of war, soon after the formation of the Central Publicity Bureau in 1918. He organised an efficient service of news for his paper which was the first among Bengali newspapers to adopt modern methods of newspaper production. Sri Ghosh retired from the editorship of the paper after a long career of service and is to-day recognised as the doyen of Bengali journalists.

Eight years later, the premier Bengali paper, the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, was started by Sri Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, Sri Prafulla Kumar Sarkar and Sri Suresh Chandra Majumdar. The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* is known for its extensive coverage of news and enjoys to-day the largest circulation for any daily newspaper in any language published from one location. The present proprietor, Sri Suresh Majumdar, also publishes the weekly *Desh*. An associate paper of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* is the *Hindustan Standard* first published in English from Calcutta in 1937, with an edition from Delhi since 1951. (Sri Suresh Majumdar died in August, 1954.)

In 1926 and 1927, after the death of C. R. Das who had started the *Forward* in 1923, the Bengali weekly, *Atmasakti*, the daily, *Banglar Katha*, were started as associate publications, but all the three papers came to grief in 1929, and were closed down as heavy damages were awarded by the High Court against the English paper for publishing defamatory statements about the East Indian Railway in an eye-witness account of a train smash. In the same year, the trio re-appeared under the names of *Liberty*, *Bangabani*, and *Nabasakti*. *Liberty* went into liquidation and *Forward* re-appeared in 1933, but the group continued in indifferent existence.

In 1937, when the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* started the English *Hindustan Standard*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* retaliated with the Bengali *Jugantar*. During the war, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* began publishing in English from Allahabad (1943) and since 1950 it has added the Hindi daily *Amrita Patrika* published from the same place.

In 1939, two more dailies were started: the *Bharat* founded by Sri Makhan Lal Sen, who had contributed substantially towards the establishment of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, and the *Krishak*, the organ of the Krishak Praja Party. In 1941, A. K. Fazlul Huq started publication of the daily *Navajug* in Bengali and five years later the official organ of the

Communist Party of India, the *Swadhinata,* started publication, as also the *Swaraj* edited by Sri Satyender Nath Mazumdar.

Besides the daily *Navajug* started by Fazlul Huq, there were two other Muslim-edited Bengali dailies published from Calcutta, the *Azad,* founded and edited by Maulana Akram Khan in 1936 and H. S. Suhrawardhy's the *Ittehad,* published in 1947, which is no longer publishing from India. Started by the Shramik Trust Society, the *Lokasevak* (1948), edited by Sri Chakroborty is one of the papers still in publication as well as the *Janasevak,* owned by Sri Atulya Ghosh. The *Times of India* started the *Satyayug* in 1949 but it ceased publication in 1953.

Of the periodicals unassociated with any daily paper deserving mention are: the *Bangal,* a Bengali weekly edited by Nazrul Islam, the *Sachitra Bharat* (1935) edited by P. C. Ray, the *Swadesh,* owned and edited by Sri Krishnendu Narayan Bhowmik and the *Wagna Doot* (1928) edited by Sri Susil Basu.

The *Prabasi* founded by Ramanand Chatterji and now edited by Sri Kedar Nath Chatterji leads the list of monthlies which include the *Bharatavarsha* publishing since 1923, and edited by Sri P. Mookerji, the *Naranaree,* a family magazine started in 1939 and now edited by Sri S. K. Haldar and the *Sanibarer Chitti* edited by Sri Sajani Kanta Das and publishing for the last 29 years.

Gujerati :

The development of Gujerati journalism after 1850 is marked by the starting of a number of papers, many of which closed down after a few years of existence. Some flourished for between 15 to 50 years, while others continue publication to this day. Reference has already been made to the *Bombay Samachar,* the *Jam-e-Jamshed* and the *Rast Goftar.* Other papers which are still in publication are the *Kheda Vartman,* started in Kaira and in 1861, the *Surat Mitra* started in 1863, renamed the *Gujerat Mitra* and now publishing as the *Gujerat Mitra and Gujerat Darpan,* the weekly *Gujerati* started in 1880 and published till 1953 from Bombay, the *Desh Mitra* which published from Surat between 1873 and 1950, the *Kaiser-i-Hind,* a weekly started in 1880 and still in publication from Bombay, the *Kathiawar Times* started in 1888 and still in publication from Rajkot and the *Prajabandhu* which after a chequered career of appearing and disappearing finally found stability under the name of the *Gujerat Samachar* publishing from Ahmedabad, the *Sayaji* Vijay started in 1895 and still in publication (*closed down August* 1954) from Baroda, the *Gujerati Punch* which published from 1901 to 1950 from Ahmedabad, and the *Sanj Vartman,* Bombay's influential evening paper which continued in uninterrupted publication for 48 years from 1902.

Political movements as well as social reform activities affected the life of Gujerati newspapers to the point of determining their continuance or extinction. The *Gujerati,* for example, was a powerful Hindu orthodox weekly which saw many rivals off the field. Reference has already been made in the earlier chapter to Ranchchodas Lotwalla's purchase of the *Akhbar-e-Saudagar* which six months later, in 1913, was renamed *Hindustan.* The paper was a stout champion of social reform under the editorship of Sri Ratanlal Shah. It suffered heavy losses but recovered circulation when it supported the Home Rule Movement started by Annie Besant. Lotwalla later supported Gandhi when he returned to India from South Africa.

Lotwalla also purchased the *Advocate of India* entrusting its editorship to Sri Indulal Yajnik and the *Prajamitra and Parsi* which advocated social reforms in the Parsi community. Later, he combined his two Gujerati papers into the *Hindustan Prajamitra,* and the *Advocate of India* closed down after an uncertain existence.

Lotawalla withdrew his support from Gandhi and extended it to the Council entry group in the Congress of which Vithalbhai Patel was a prominent leader. His active denunciation of non-co-operation and civil disobedience resulted in the *Hindustan Prajamitra's* losing ground until it was converted into a weekly in 1940, and ceased to exist a few years later.

Gandhi's influence on Gujerati journalism made itself felt soon after he took over the *Navjivan* from Sri Indulal Yajnik and converted it from a monthly to a weekly. He preached in simple yet forceful language his philosophy of truth, non-violence and civil disobedience. He advocated the uplift of the depressed, inter-caste marriages and Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhi's achievement was that he advocated social reform and yet gained popularity for his paper with the result that the *Gujerati* of Bombay and the *Gujerati Punch* of Ahmedabad, strongly orthodox papers, which had seen many reformist rivals off the field, rapidly declined in popularity. The circulation of the *Navjivan* shot up from 9,000 in 1919 to 20,000 in 1920. It was converted into the *Harijan Bandhu* in 1932 and was edited by Chandreshekar Premshankar Shukla and had distinguished contributors such as Mahadev Desai, Kaka Kalelkar, Kishorelal Mashruwala and Narhari Parekh besides Gandhi himself. In 1940, the *Harijan* group of papers ceased publication as a protest against the Government's pre-censorship order, but they were revived in 1946, and continue in publication to this day with a short break in 1948 soon after Gandhi's murder.

A group of papers which owe their established position to-day to the efforts of Sri Amritlal Seth are those published under the auspices of the Saurashtra Trust. Sri Amritlal Seth made a beginning in 1921 with a weekly the *Saurashtra* published from Ranpur in the heart of Kathiawad. His target of attack was the Princes and his cause that of the people of the States. In time the paper was renamed the *Phulchchab.*

In 1943, Sri Amritlal Seth started in Bombay the *Janmabhoomi* a Gujerati daily, and the *Sun,* an English daily, which however, closed down soon after it was started. *Janmabhoomi* continued to flourish under the effective editorship of Samaldas Gandhi. Sri Amritlal Seth became involved in some personal trouble and at Gandhi's behest severed his connection with his newspapers. He resumed the managing editorship of the *Janmabhoomi* four years later, and Samaldas Gandhi and other members of the staff resigned and started the *Vande Mataram* in 1941. It was believed at that time that the *Janmabhoomi's* fate was sealed, but Sri Amritlal Seth kept it going with vigour. The feud between the two papers continued for some time, and both did well with the *Janmabhoomi* leading. In the late forties, Sri Amritlal Seth converted the proprietorship of the *Janmabhoomi,* the *Lokamanya* (Marathi) and allied papers into a trust and himself retired from their management.

Ahmedabad had no daily Gujerati paper till 1921 when Sri Nandlal Bodiwalla started the *Swarajya* but it closed down after publication for a couple of years. Sri Bodiwalla then started the *Sandesh* as an evening

paper priced at one pice. It was single sheet paper and later increased in size to 6 pages, but was priced at one pice till 1937. A rival, the *Ahmedabad Samachar*, was bought out and gradually Sri Bodiwalla developed his paper and built up a modern press complete with rotary. It was later converted into a morning paper and in 1943 the firm of Sandesh Ltd. was brought into existence publishing besides the paper of that name, the *Sewak*, an evening daily, the *Aram*, a literary weekly, and the weekly *Gujerati Punch*.

Another established group is published by Lok Prakashan Ltd. which consists of the *Gujarat Samachar* daily and the *Prajabandhu* weekly and the *Loknad*, an evening daily. Yet another group consists of the daily *Prabhat*, the weekly *Nav Saurashtra* and the monthly *Kumar*, owned by Sri Kakalbhai Kothari.

Surat has two leading dailies, the *Samachar* started in 1922 by Sri M. R. Vidyarthi and the *Gujerati* edited by Sri Ramanlal Chhotubhai Desai started in 1921. It circulates widely in and around Surat district.

Baroda's first Gujerati daily, the *Ujatan Prabhat*, was started in 1930, but it soon ceased publication as also the *Pratap*, started in 1935. Dailies now publishing are *Sayaji Vijay*, started as a weekly in 1895 and published as a daily since 1950, the *Jai Gujerat*, started in 1942 and two others published later, the *Raj Hansa* and the *Prakash*. Three Gujerati dailies commenced publication from Rajkot after the formation of the Saurashtra Union, the *Jai Hind*, an independent and widely read paper edited by Sri P. L. Shah, the *Nutan Saurashtra*, edited by Sri J. R. Rawal, former editor of the *Sind Samachar* of Karachi and the *Phulchchab*, originally started as the *Saurashtra* by Sri Amritlal Seth. From Bhuj, the capital of Kutch, are publishing three dailies—the ten-year old *Azad Kutch* edited by Sri Pranlal Shah, the *Kutch Mitra* of 6 years' standing and the more recently started the *Jai Kutch* edited by Sri Phulshankar Pattani.

As the Gujeratis are a trading community, there are newspapers publishing in their language from Calcutta, Poona, Madras, Cochin, Pakistan, Burma and Africa. A few of them are in irregular publication but most of them are well established.

Hindi:

The first attempt to start a Hindi paper has been mentioned in the chapter dealing with the beginnings of journalism. Jugal Kishore Sookool, who started the *Oodunt Martand* (1826), found himself faced with the problem of circulating the paper over a wide area. He was not allowed postal concessions. The next attempt was made by Raja Ram Mohan Roy who sponsored the *Bangadoot* which was published in Hindi and three other languages (1829). It was originally published as part of the *Bengal Herald* and the name was changed a little over a month later. Jugal Kishore Sookool made a second attempt with the *Samyadani Martand* (1850) but that too failed. The first Hindi daily was published from Calcutta (1854), the *Samachar Sudhavarshan*, but only market and shipping reports were published in Hindi, the rest in Bengali.

In earlier chapters mention is made of the efforts to introduce the Devanagari script in the North-West Provinces at a time when almost all papers were publishing in the Urdu script. The first effort in this direction was the *Benaras Akhbar* (1849) under the patronage of Raja Shiv Prasad, who was

working for a common language for Hindus and Muslims which could be written in the Persian or Nagari script. At the same time, Benaras had another paper the *Soodhakur Akhbar* (1853) lithographed in Nagari and edited by Ratneshwar Tiwari. The *Simla Akbar* edited by Sheikh Abdullah was also published in Nagari, it is said, in order to win the patronage of the Rajas of the Hills. Later, Munshi Sadasookh Lall's *Buddhi Prakash* published from Agra was acknowledged to be published in pure Hindi. The *Malwa Akhbar*, published under the patronage of the Maharaja Holkar, carried both scripts.

There was a third category of papers with a Hindi and Urdu name, publishing in parallel columns news in the two scripts, notable examples of which were the *Sarvopkarak* (*Mufid-ul-Khaliaq*) started from Agra in 1861 and the *Bharat Khandamrita* (*Ab-i-Hayat-i-Hind*-1864). But soon they were published as separate papers under their respective names and in the appropriate scripts. The *Khair-khwah-i-Hind* (1865) started by R. C. Mathur continued to publish as a bi-lingual paper. Exclusively Hindi papers began to appear in the sixties largely devoted to orthodox religious or semi-religious causes.

In 1867 three independent Hindi newspapers were publishing—the *Vritantta Bitas* (Jammu), the *Gyan Deepak* (Sikandrabad) and the *Kavi Vachan Sudha* (Benaras), the last of these being edited by Bhartendu Harishchandra who has been described as the Ram Mohan Roy of Hindi journalism. He was already a writer of repute when he started his monthly magazine and his enterprise inspired other writers to follow in his wake; it may be said that Hindi journalism was placed firmly on its feet by his efforts. A flood of journals of high literary quality followed, but most of them lived only for a few years largely because of lack of public support. Two papers started in 1877, outlasted the rest: the *Bharat Mitra*, a weekly, which continued in publication till 1937 and the *Hindi Pradeep*, a monthly, edited by Balkrishna Bhat, the father of Hindi political journalism—a paper which continued in publication till the Government compelled it to close down in 1910. Mention should be made here of the *Bharat Jiwan*, started in 1884 by Ram Krishna Varma and edited successively by Kartik Prasad Khatri and Devki Nandan Khatri. Despite the reverses it sustained on the death of its founder and later its first editor, the paper commanded considerable influence and continued in publication till 1913 when Devki Nandan Khatri died. Some 50 new publications came into existence between 1877 and 1883 when the *Hindustan*, the first daily paper, came into existence. It was a tri-lingual (Hindi, Urdu and English) paper published first from London and later from Kalakankar under the patronage of Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar.

Journals which exercised a decisive influence on style and content were: the *Kavi Vachan Sudha*, the *Harishchandra Magazine* (1873), and the *Chandrika* (1874), all sponsored by Bhartendu Harishchandra, the *Hindi Pradeep*, the *Brahman* (1880), the *Sar Sudhanidhi* (1879), the *Kshattriya Mitra* (1880) and the *Bharat Mirta* (1877). The leading writers were Harishchandra and Bhat whose names have already been mentioned, Pratap Narain Misra and Balmukand Gupta. Some 150 papers and journals were either started or restarted between 1884 and 1894. The contents of most of these papers were concerned with social or religious subjects, many of them were sectional, some were political and a few set a high literary standard.

In the first two decades of the 20th century too, Hindi journalism concerned itself with literary, social and religious subjects. Some journals dealing exclusively with education, agriculture and trade were also published. A few

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HARIJAN

Foreign Subscription (including postage) Rs. 5/8 or Sh. 8/- or $ 3/-

EDITOR: R. V. SASTRY

Under the auspices of The Servants of Untouchables Society

Vol. 1 | POONA—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1933. | [No. 1

THE CLEANSER.

(A free rendering, from the Bengali, of Satyendranath Datta's "Scavenger".)

Why do they shun your touch, my friend, and call you unclean
Whom cleanliness follows at every step, making the earth and
air sweet for our dwelling, and ever luring us back from
return to the wild ?

You help us, like a mother her child, into freshness, and uphold
the truth, that disgust is never for man.

The holy stream of your ministry carries pollutions away and
ever remains pure.

Once Lord Shiva had saved the world from a deluge of poison
by taking it himself,

And you save it every day from filth with the same divine
sufferance.

Come friend, come my hero, give us courage to serve man,
even while bearing the brand of infamy from him.

Rabindranath Tagore

WEEK TO WEEK

The Servants of Untouchables Society

During the fortnight ending the 21st Jany. 1933

Temples thrown open

One Shri Raghunath Swami temple at Berhampur, district Ganjam, Madras.

One Kali temple at Charmuguria, Murshidabad district, Bengal.

One Vithalnathaji temple at Ode village, Kaira district, Gujarat.

One Shri Amreshwar Swami temple at Angalur, Gudivada, Krishna district, Madras.

One Shiva temple (newly constructed) near Kingsway, New Delhi.

Fifteen State Temples in Baroda.

One Shiva temple at Juda, Benares district, U. P.

Wells opened

One well of Messrs. Santaram Anantram Bhatia of Sultanwind gate, Amritsar, Punjab.

Four wells at Ladpur and Kanjhawala villages, Delhi Province.

One newly constructed well of Chaudhry Nanakram, near Kingsway, New Delhi.

Schools started

Two night schools in Angul and Jajpur talukas, Orissa.

Two night schools in Mody Street, Fort, Bombay.

One night school at Royapettah, Madras City.

One night school at Jhansi, U. P.

General

1. The Utkal Board has started a free hostel in Cuttack for ten Harijan boys receiving secondary education. Besides this, the Board has sanctioned sixteen scholarships of Rs. 3/- each p. m. to Harijan boys studying in High Schools of Angul, a most backward district of Orissa.

A new boarding house, called 'Kaivalya Kutir', has been opened at Cuttack, Orissa, for Harijan students. The caste students are also allowed admission there. This was opened by Prof. P. K. Parija.

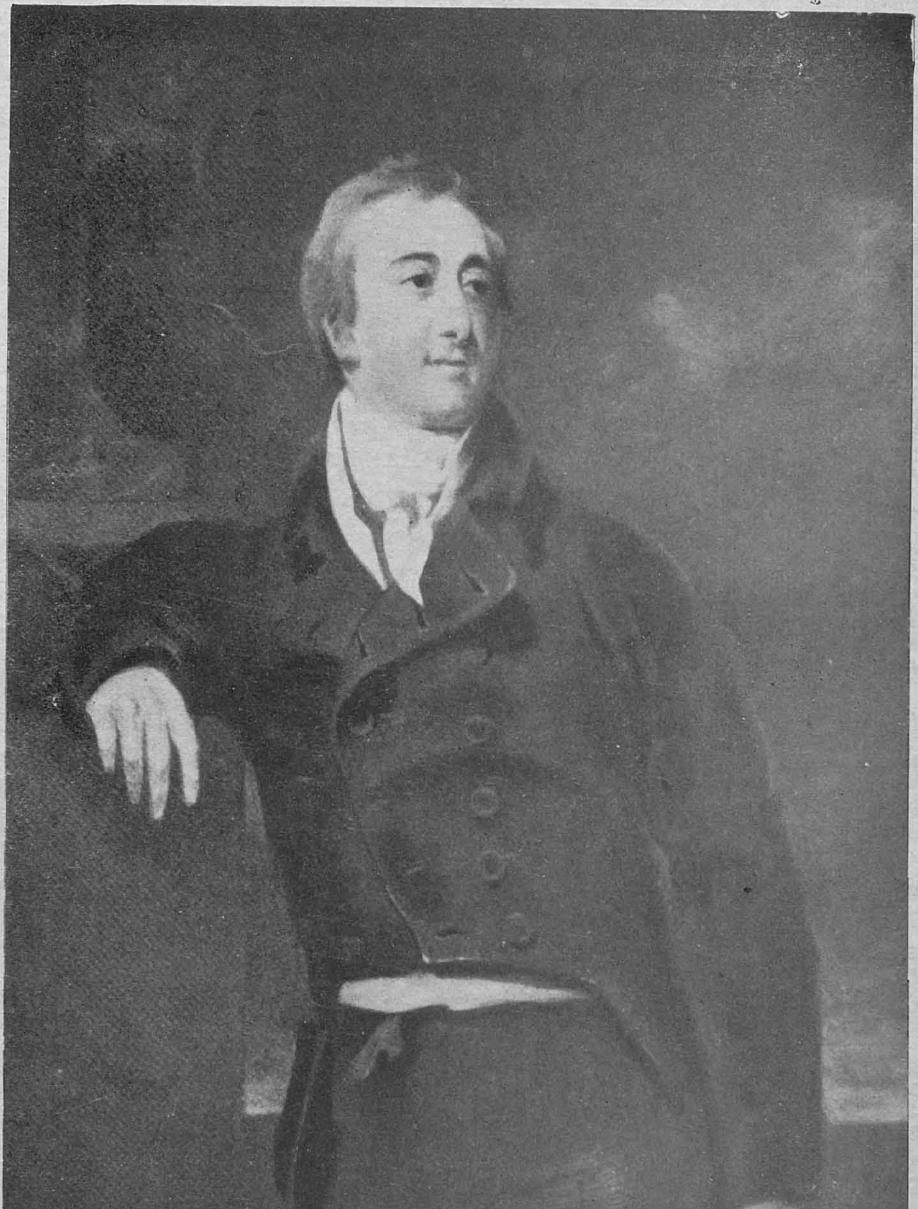
2. Under the auspices of the Dayanand Dalitodhar Mandal, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, a "purohit" class has been started for the children of the Harijans to train them as priests to officiate at Sanskaras.

3. A Hindu Ashram has been started at Gundasinghwala, a suburb of Amritsar, for the education of Harijan boys.

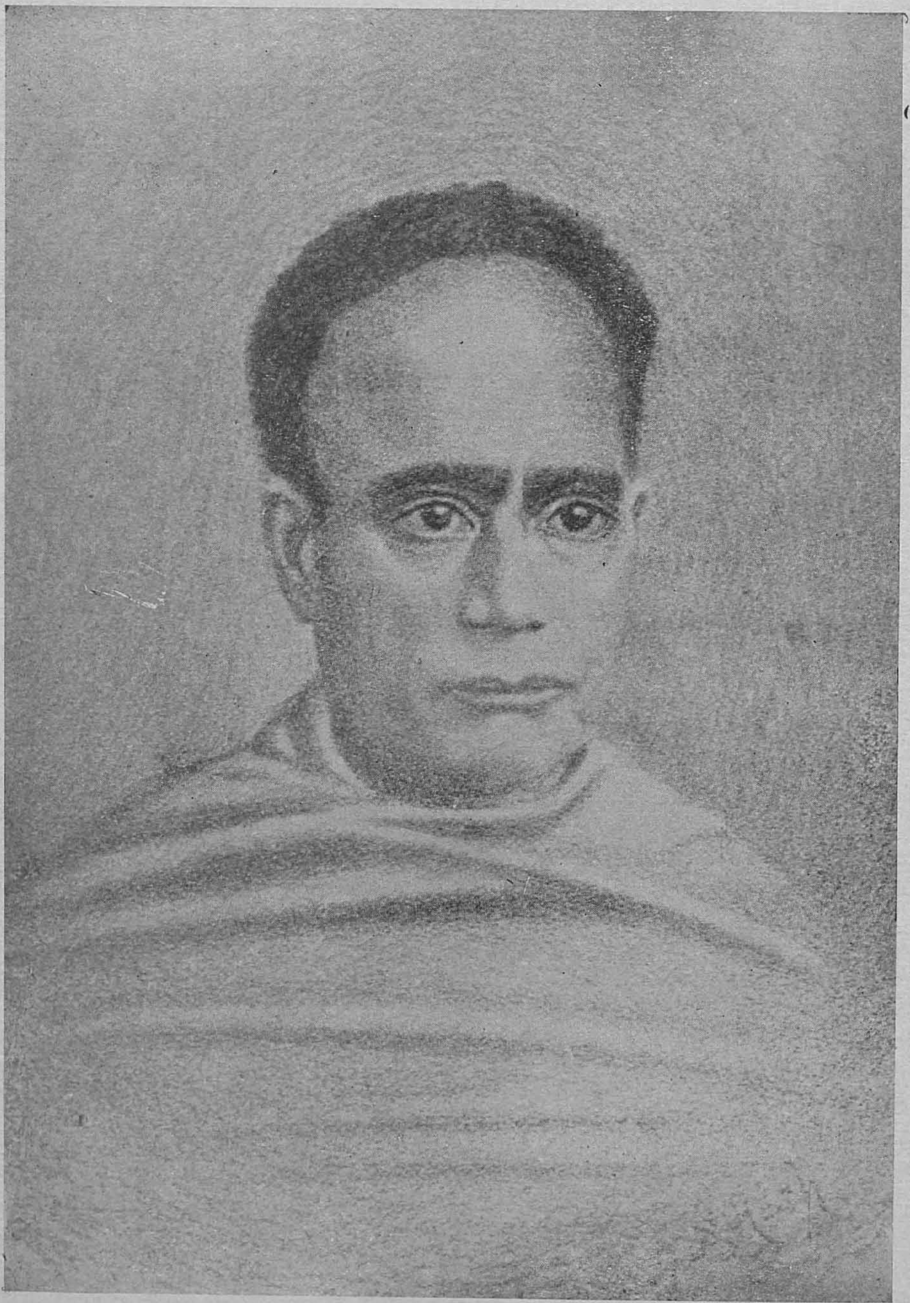
(*Continued on page 3 col. 2*).

Harijan: Poona, February 11, 1933

Raja Ram Mohan Roy



Lord William Bentinck



Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar

journals for children made their appearance. Politics was confined to a limited number of journals, the oldest of which was the *Hindi Pradeep,* the others being the *Hindi Kesari* (1907), a Hindi version of Tilak's Marathi paper; the *Karma Yogi* (1910) which took its cue from Aurobindo Ghosh's the *Karma Yogin;* and the *Abhyudaya* (1907) sponsored by Madan Mohan Malaviya; the *Pratap* (1913) and the *Gyan Shakti* (1916).

With the closing down of the *Hindustan,* the need for a daily paper was widely felt and Ambika Prasad Gupta made an ineffectual attempt to convert his monthly the *Indu* into a daily. With the outbreak of World War I, a number of weeklies were published as dailies—the *Calcutta Samachar,* the *Abhyudaya,* the *Sri Venkateswar Samachar* (Bombay), the *Hindi Bihari* (Patna) and the *Jayaji Pratap* (Gwalior)—but by 1917 all these enterprises lapsed into weeklies leaving in the field the *Bharat Mitra,* published from Calcutta as a daily for some time, the newly started *Calcutta Samachar* and the *Sri Venkateswar Samachar* published from Bombay.

Outstanding journalists of the period were Ganga Prasad Gupta (1900), Nand Kumar Deo Sharma (1901), M. P. Dwivedi (1902), Hari Krishna Jouhar (1905), Chhote Ram Shukla (1912), Sri Indra Vidyavachaspati (1913), Matadin Shukla (1913), Shiva Ram Pande (1913), Lakshman Narayan Garde (1914), Sri Narmada Prasad Misra (1915), Jhabramal (1916), Sri Benarsi Prasad Chaturvedi (1917) and Sri Shiva Pujan Sahai (1918). Of these, the names of Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, editor of the *Saraswati* and Balmukand Gupta of *Bharat Mitra* may well claim a leading place for the invaluable contribution they made to journalism and to the enrichment of Hindi. Dwivedi's magazine was widely read and he took great pains to cater to a wide range of interest. He crusaded for *Khari Boli* as against *Brij Bhasha,* both in prose and poetry. He came in for a great deal of criticism and many writers non-co-operated with him, but there were others who were drawn to him by the wide range of subjects with which he dealt, his presentation of them and his style being his strongest arguments. During his 18 years' uninterrupted editorship, the *Saraswati* came to be acknowledged to be the best produced journal of the time. Balmukand Gupta was a writer of reputation and experience. He edited the well-known Lahore Urdu weekly, the *Koh-i-Noor,* and converted it into a daily, and later worked with Madan Mohan Malaviya who was at that time editing the *Hindustan* of Kalakankar. Balmukand succeed Malaviya as editor of the paper, but, soon after, he went on to Calcutta where, after working for a paper or two, he took up the editorship of the *Bharat Mitra* which under his control became the leading Hindi paper of the day.

The *Bharat Mitra* ran into difficulties later under the editorship of Ambika Prasad Bajpai. There was difficulty in holding the staff together partly owing to differences and partly because some members of the staff, notably Sri Baburao Vishnu Paradkar were imprisoned. For little over a month the paper ceased publication, but when it came to life again, it had to face serious competition from the *Calcutta Samachar* which had wound up and reappeared as the *Vishwamitra* (1918). The *Bharat Mitra* held its ground by commanding public respect for its sane views and sober presentation of news. In the following year, however, Ambika Prasad Bajpai handed over charge of the *Bharat Mitra* to Lakshman Narayan Garde. From Delhi, Swami Shradhanand and Sri Indra started the daily *Vijaya* which, however, succumbed to Government action after publishing for a month and a half. In 1920, Ambika Prasad Bajpai started the *Swatantra* which rose rapidly in popularity, supporting as it did the non-co-operation movement at that time and again in

1930, when the Government called upon it to deposit a security of Rs. 5,000. Also started in 1920 was the *Aj* of Benaras which enjoys the distinction of being regarded as an institution in Hindi journalism today.

The first editor of the *Aj* was Sri Sri Prakasa. He was assisted by Baburao Vishnu Paradkar who succeeded him in 1823 and to whose editorship for 30 years with a short break of four years, the paper owes its present pre-eminent position. For his distinctive service to the cause of journalism, and Hindi journalism in particular, he was awarded in November last year the All-India Mahatma Gandhi Prize of Rs. 1,500. Associated with him were two veterans, Ambika Prasad Bajpai and Lakshman Narayan Grade. Paradkar was a strong supporter of the Congress but he never sacrified his independence of thought and unsparingly criticised leaders of the Congress, until the attainment of freedom in 1947. He has since emphasised the conditions essential for the successful functioning of democracy and consistently urged the need for a strong opposition party.

In 1923, Sri Ghanshyam Das Birla sponsored the *Arjun* from Delhi, but the editor was sentenced to imprisonment soon after and a few months later the paper was called upon to pay a security of Rs. 10,000 under the Press Ordinance. The paper closed down and started again when the security demanded was reduced to Rs. 4,000. Editor and paper were continually harassed till 1938 when it closed down and reopened under the name of the *Vir Arjun.*

From 1919 to 1925, the *Bharat Mitra* of Calcutta was edited by Lakshman Narayan Garde until he resigned owing to differences on policy.

Between the third and the fourth decade of the present century, the following newspapers are listed as being among the most prominent:—

> Sainik (Agra, 1928); Shakti (Lahore, 1930), Pratap (Cawnpore). Navayug (Delhi), Navarashtra (Bombay), Bharat (Allahabad. 1933), Lokmat (Nagpur, 1931), Lokmanya (Calcutta, 1930). Vartman (Cawnpore, 1920), Vishwamitra (Calcutta, 1917, Bombay, 1941, New Delhi, 1942), Navbharat (Nagpur, 1934), Adhikar (Lucknow, 1938), Agragami (Kashi, 1938), Ujala (Agra, 1940), Aryavarta (Patna, 1942), Indore Samachar (Indore, 1943), Rashtravani (Patna, 1942), Sansar (Kashi, 1943), Naya Hindustan (Delhi, 1944), Jai Hind (1946, Jubbulpore) and Sanmarg (Kashi & Calcutta, 1946). Other equally important are Arjun (1923), Vir Arjun (1934, Delhi), Hindustan (Delhi, 1934), Mazdoor Samachar (1934), Congress (Delhi, 1940), Hindi Milap (Lahore. 1930), Hindi Swarya (C. P., 1930) and Hindu Sansar (Delhi).

(The rise and Growth of Hindi Journalism by Ram Ratan Bhatnagar).

The weeklies and periodicals are too numerous to be reviewed here but mention must be made of the unique contribution of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi to the *Pratap* of Kanpur which was ably conducted by him till his tragic death in 1931. Of the monthlies, no less distinguished than the *Saraswati* was the *Madhuri* (1923) whose pages were immortalised by the short stories of Munshi Prem Chand.

In the years since, Hindi journalism has made firm strides and yet a vast vista stretches before it. Dailies and weeklies are rapidly amassing large circulations and it will not be long before some of the Hindi papers will have the largest circulation of any newspapers in the country. What was a

handicap in the early stages of the development of Hindi journalism has now proved to be a blessing; for a script which is amenable to type has the advantage of having access to all the amenities associated with modern newspaper production. The means of production now available will not stand in the way of a rising circulation and the possibilities are that, in the not distant future, the capacity of the latest methods of production will be extended to the full.

There are Hindi newspapers which maintain the highest standards in the presentation of news and views and many are cultivating a wide range of interest in keeping with modern trends. A substantial portion of the present circulation is held by Hindi newspapers published as adjuncts to leading papers published in the English language. This has been regarded as an unfortunate and undesirable development, impressing on its Hindi counterpart the matrix of the English paper. It is defended on the ground that a wide range of material is thereby made available as well as the latest methods of production. If Hindi develops rapidly, as it has in the last 6 years, the time is not far off when, in bi-lingual and multi-lingual combines, the Hindi version will be the senior partner.

Kannada:

The Kannada-speaking area can be divided into four regions: (1) Mysore State, (2) South Canara and Bellary districts in Madras Province, (3) four districts of Bombay Karnatak, *viz.*, Bijapur, Dharwar, Belgaum and North Canara, and (4) Gulburga, Bidar and Raichur districts of Hyderabad State. In addition to this, the Southern Maratha States attached to Bombay Presidency before the merger, are Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Ramdurg, Sangli and Jath. In these States though the rulers were Marathi-speaking, the population as a whole was Kannada-speaking.

From the records it is found that journalism in Kannada started about 1870 almost in all the regions. It did not grow or prosper because of the divisions both political and administrative. Bombay Karnatak and the Southern Maratha States were under the influence of Maharashtra rulers for a considerable time, and, in the Southern Maratha States, Marathi was imposed on the Kannada population because the rulers' mother-tongue was Marathi. Even in the districts of Bijapur, Dharwar, Belgaum and North Kanara, Marathi schools were started in the seventies and eighties of the last century. Bal Shastri Jambekar in a report referred to this anomaly as well as the variations in the Kannada language in the four regions and suggested the evolution of a common language. Later, Russell supported this view. As late as 1907, a Marathi weekly called the *Dharwad Vritta* was published in Dharwar city.

In Madras Karnatak, *i.e.*, South Kanara District, and in Mysore State, Christian missionaries started the printing press, and the first journal in Kannada, the *Vrattanta Patrika* of Mysore was a very old newspaper conducted by Christian missionaries till recently. The first newspaper, as such of any standing was published from Bangalore in 1865, the *Karnataka Prakasika*. It was edited by pundits who wrote in the *Champu* prose style and the paper was known for its literary quality. Between 1880 and 1908, a number of newspapers in English and in Kannada made their appearance. Prominent among them was the *Desabhimani* edited by B. Srinivasa Iyengar. It ceased publication as a result of action taken against it by Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, the then Dewan, and even the printing press was seized by the police

and spirited away. The leading journalists of the time were M. Venkatakrishnaiya, the grand old man of Mysore, and two brothers, M. Gopala Iyengar and M. Srinivasa Iyengar, who first started their papers in Mysore and then migrated to Bangalore. Venkatakrishnaiya edited the *Mysore Herald* in English and the *Vrittanta Chintamani,* while M. Srinivasa Iyengar published the *Nadgannadi,* a weekly edition in Kannada as companion to the English bi-weekly, the *Mysore Standard.* The last two named journals incurred the displeasure of the then Dewan, Sir P. N. Krishnamurti and of V. P. Madhava Rao. In 1908, the Mysore Legislative Council passed the Newspaper Regulation Act and soon after a Kannada weekly publication, the *Suryodaya Prakasika,* published a report which incurred the displeasure of the Government. Prompt action was taken and as a protest the newspapers of Mysore with a few exceptions closed down. One of these newspapers which ceased to exist, never to appear again, was the first Kannada daily, the *Bharati,* edited by Sri D. V. Gundappa.

A number of mushroom enterprises followed but the revival of real journalism awaited the appointment of Sir M. Visvesvaryya as Dewan of Mysore in 1912. The newspapers were critical of the Dewan and his policies but he refused to be provoked into action in spite of the urgings of successive British Residents. Any action taken against a newspaper was subjected to quasi-judicial examination.

World War I gave a great impetus to newspapers in Mysore and under Sir M. Visvesvarayya's enlightened policy, the Press acquired a measure of stability.

Under the Dewanship of Sir Mirza Ismail, a number of Kannada dailies came into existence and acquired stability. Most of the newspapers publishing today were started in this period.

The political agitation in Bengal—known as the partition agitation—in 1904-05 gave an impetus even to Kannada journalism. In Bombay Karnatak, the *Kesari* of Poona and the leadership of Tilak cast their spell. *Kannada Kesari* (translation of Poona *Kesari*) was started by Dr. N. S. Hardikar from Hubli in 1907.

In South Kanara, some weeklies were started by missionaries and they were conducted with considerable ability, but they did not survive. At present, the *Kanthtrva* and the *Swadeshabhimani,* old weeklies, still survive. A Kannada daily, the *Nava Bharat,* is published by Sri V. N. Kudva and two other weeklies, the *Prabhat* and the *Rashtramata,* are published today.

Politically active districts in Kannada area are the Bombay Karnatak districts. Copies of old weekly journals in Belgaum and Kaladgi are available. All the weeklies belonging to the 19th century and the early 20th century ceased publication after a few years. A Kannada monthly was started in Bombay by Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai and Shamrao Vithalrao Kaikini. The only weekly paper in Kannada known as the *Karnatak Vaibhav* was started in 1892 and is still being published from Bijapur. In Dharwar, the *Raj Hounsa,* a small daily paper, was in existence from 1885 to 1922. The *Karnatak Vratta,* a weekly paper, founded by Krishnarao Mudavedkar, a well-known public figure, continued publication for nearly 35 years and finally closed in 1936. Another powerful weekly started by Vasudevachar Kerur was very popular for its style, wit, humour, repartee

and trenchant criticism. He was a lawyer and student of Sanskrit literature and of politics. The paper ceased publication soon after his death in 1921.

With the advent of Gandhi, some prominent public men encouraged journals for the purpose of carrying on the freedom struggle. Jayarao Deshpande, a leading lawyer and public man of Bijapur, took the editorship of the *Karnatak Vaibhav* and conducted it with great fervour and ability. Sri H. R. Moharay, the present Managing Editor of *Samyukta Karnatak*, entered journalism in 1921, and assumed the editorship and proprietorship of the same weekly after the death of Jayarao Deshpande in 1922.

Sri R. R. Diwakar, the present Governor of Bihar, Sri R. S. Hukerikar, then the Chairman of the Bombay Legislative Council, together started a press and a weekly paper known as the *Karmaveer* in 1921. It is still being published from Hubli under the auspices of the Loka Shikshan Trust. Most of the nationalist journals were prosecuted for their strong criticism of the Government. During the days of the great movement of non-co-operation, they attained the highest circulation. All the journals in the Kannada-speaking area, especially in Bombay Karnatak, were advocates of extreme views in Indian politics. In his book 'Indian Unrest', Sir Valentine Chirol quoted the *Karnatak Vaibhav* as representative of writings in Kannada.

When the political agitation reached a low ebb in 1924, the circulation of the paper went down and they had to carry on under great difficulties. In Belgaum, some of the workers in the cause of the Karnatak movement thought of starting a weekly paper to be known as *Samyukta Karnatak* as a propagandist organ. Prominent public men like B. V. Belvi, Narayanrao Joshi and Sri B. N. Datar, the present Deputy Minister for Home Affairs in the Government of India, were the founders of *Samyukta Karnatak* weekly and subsequently it was converted into a daily in 1933. Sri H. R. Moharay was invited to take up the editorship of the daily paper by these founders and he accepted the invitation and assumed the Managing Editorship of the paper in 1934. After the release of Sri R. R. Diwakar in 1934, the paper was taken up by the National Literature Publication Trust, of which Sri Diwakar was a Trustee. This idea of constituting the Trust was mooted in 1929 by Sri R. R. Diwakar, Sri H. R. Moharay and Hanamantrao Kaujalgi and other friends of Karnatak. The *Samyukta Karnatak* was first started at Belgaum. In 1937, it was removed to Hubli which is a better distributing centre.

In 1947, two daily papers, the *Vishal Karnatak* and the *Navyug* were started at Hubli and are still being published. There are small weekly newspapers in some of the district towns. The *Navayug* was started by Sri T. R. Nesvi, M.P. and his friends. Sri Nesvi is its Managing Editor. The *Vishal Karnatak* was started on August 9, 1947 by Sri K. F. Patil, at present Deputy Minister in the Government of Bombay, and his friends, with Sri Patil Puttappa as its editor.

In 1937, Dr. N. S. Hardikar started a weekly paper the *Hubli Gazette* devoted to the civic affairs of the city. He strongly criticised the administration of the Hubli Municipality, which was suspended soon after. In 1947, the *Hubli Gazette* was renamed and published as the present *Jai Hind*.

Malayalam:

Reference has already been made to the beginnings of journalism in Malayalam with newspapers published by missionaries. Still in publication today as a weekly is the *Sathyanadam* started as a fortnightly in 1876 in Ernakulam, the then capital of Cochin. It was edited by Father Louis and associated with it was C. Varkey who died recently after serving the paper and journalism in Kerala for almost half a century.

It was not till 1884 that Kerala saw political journalism when the *Kerala Patrika* was started in Calicut by C. Kunhirama Menon who was independent and public-spirited and a vigorous critic of the administration. Among the prominent contributors to the paper were Kunhiraman Nayanar, Appu Nedungadi, and O. Chandu Menon. The editor himself set a high standard of simple and elegant Malayalam and after his death the paper lost ground considerably. Two weeklies were started at the same time in Calicut, the *Kerala Sanchari* with C. P. Govindan Nair as proprietor—editor who gave his spare time from teaching in the Zamorin College to the conduct of the paper, and the *Manorama* edited by Kunhikrishna Menon, first as the organ of the Kerala Mahajana Sabha and later under his own proprietorship.

Well remembered in Kerala is K. Ramakrishna Pillai for his fearless writing as editor of the monthly *Kerala* and the weekly Malayalee and later the *Swadeshabhimani.* He made it his mission to rouse the political consciousness of the people and put courage into them to resist the high-handedness of authority. He was deported from Travancore in 1910 and lived thereafter and died in Malabar in 1916.

The *Malayala Manorama* of Kottayam, one of the leading dailies of Kerala today, was founded 79 years ago by Kandathi Varghese Mappilai who brought an instinct for news, keen business acumen and wide experience of men and affairs to bear on the conduct of the paper. Prominent literary and public figures of the time contributed freely to the columns of the *Manorama*—Kerala Varma Valia Koyil Thampuran, Kunhikuttan Thampuran, Sri Vallathol Narayana Menon, Ulloor Achutha Menon, Murkoth Kumaran and many other writers some of whom made their literary reputation in the columns of the paper. In 1904, the founder-editor passed away and was succeeded by Sri K. C. Mammen Mappillai who maintained the high traditions built up by his predecessor till he passed away in Dec., 1953, at the age of 80. The paper has been publishing as a daily for the last 26 years without a break except for a period between 1938 and 1947, when it was compelled to close down by the Travancore Government.

Started in Quilon as a weekly about this time was the *Malayalee* which is now publishing as a daily. It was started by K. Ramakrishna Pillai but its reputation is associated with Madhava Varrier who edited the paper for many years. Special mention should be made of a fortnightly publication, the *Kayana Kaumudi* started in 1905, which published news, views and correspondence all in verse. It is now pubished as a literary magazine by Sri P. V. Krishna Varrier from Kottakkal. The *Nasrani Deepika* and the *Kerala Kesari* edited by Pallath Kunjunni Achan and the *Yogakshemam* edited by V. S. Nambudiripad were well-known publications. Papers which stood for social justice were the *Desabhimani* edited by Sri T. K. Madhavan, the *Sahodaran* edited by Ayyappan of Cochin and the *Mithavadhi* of C. Krishnan of Calicut. Names remembered for style and clarity of expression

are K. J. Menon, Murkoth Kumaran, editor of the *Gaja Kesari*, Appan Thampuram and Vasudeva Musad.

The struggle for independence brought into being a number of dailies in the twenties. The most important of these which is in demand wherever Malayalis are to be found is the *Mathrubhumi* which started as a tri-weekly in 1923 and is now publishing daily and weekly (illustrated) and commands the largest sale in Kerala. The paper was founded by K. Madhavan Nair and P. Achutan who gave up their practice as lawyers in Calcutta to join the non-co-operation movement. A great name associated with the conduct of the paper is that of P. Ramunni Menon, of whom it may be said that he gave his life for the paper, as he died an untimely death in 1930. The high traditions built up by him have been ably maintained by Sri K. P. Kesava Menon who has to his credit a long record of public service.

A weekly of importance published from Quilon in 1922 was *Swarat* edited by A. K. Pillai who gave up his studies in Oxford to join the non-co-operation movement. The paper had a brief but brilliant career under his editorship. Another paper which had a brief existence during which it gained popularity was the *Al Amin* published from Calicut and edited by Janab Abdur Rahiman. The *Malayala Rajyam* also started from Quilon at the same time and is still in publication commanding popular support for its balanced views and careful reporting. Publishing from Ernakulam as a daily, is the *Dinabandhu* started as a weekly in the early forties, and the *Kerala Kaumudi* edited at one time by C. V. Kunhiraman still enjoys a position of considerable influence.

New papers have come into existence in the last few years, prominent among which are the *Desabhimani* now publishing as the organ of the Communist Party and conducted by enthusiastic young men, the *Chandrika* published from Calicut as the daily organ of the Muslim League and an independent no-party paper, the *Powrashakti*.

Malayali journalism has had the advantage and support of a brilliant band of writers from the earliest times; the most prominent among them, whose names have been mentioned in this brief review, are still remembred with appreciation by the people of Kerala. A recent loss is that of M. R. Nayar also known as *Sanjayan* whose understanding of problems and mastery of irony earned for him an unrivalled reputation among the writers of the present day. Sri K. P. Kesava Menon, the present editor of the *Mathrubhumi*, is also known for his felicity of expression and objectivity and detachment in his approach to public affairs. Another distinguished son of Kerala is Sardar K. M. Panikkar, a well-known writer, both in Malayalam and in English, who in recent years has rendered useful service to the country in the diplomatic field.

It has not been possible in this brief review to refer to all the newspapers published in Kerala which include 23 dailies, some 50 weeklies and other periodicals. Journalism in Malayalam is not confined to Kerala, but extends to countries where there are concentrations of Malayali residents. The best known of these are two leading dailies of Singapore and one published from Colombo. Weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies are published from Bombay, Madras, Poona and other places in India.

Marathi.—Mahadev Govind Ranade in a review of the growth of Marathi in 1898, noted the existence of three daily newspapers. Two of these were published in Bombay. They were the *Mumbai Vaibhav* started and edited

by Mr. K. P. Mehendale in 1893 and the *Gurakhi* edited by L. N. Joshi. There was no daily paper published from any other place in Marathi-speaking territory.

The next Marathi daily to be published from Bombay was the *Rashtramat,* edited by S. K. Damle and published by the Rashtramat Publishing Company Ltd., in the first decade of the twentieth century. It was the mouthpiece of the extremist party led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. It soon gained popularity owing to its special reporting of the movement and activities connected with the Bengal partition and the Chatussutri movement of Swaraj initiated by Tilak. Its sales went up rapidly as it covered extensively the well-known Nasik Conspiracy case. It fell a victim to the Press Act of 1910.

The *Indu Prakash* started in 1862, as a weekly, and became a daily in 1910. The paper, however, did not gain stability. In 1920 its conduct was entrusted to the National Democratic Party but the fortunes of the party declined. It was then merged with the *Lokamanya* but the latter itself ceased publication in 1925.

The second decade of the Twenteeth century saw the birth of the *Sandesh,* a Marathi daily, started and edited by A. B. Kolhatkar from Bombay. Kolhatkar revolutionised Marathi daily journalism. He specialised in war news and covered, as fully as possible, the activities of the nationalists led by Tilak particularly his Home Rule League. Kolhatkar had already risen to fame as the editor of the *Desha Sevak* in Nagpur, and had been sentenced for sedition. He introduced a number of features which were not till then known in Marathi journalism. They caught the imagination of the people, particularly the lower middle-class and the masses. Some of the well-known features which he introduced in the *Sandesh* were the "Letters of Vatsala Vahini" and "Tales of Beta Gulab". He also, controlled a humorous column to his paper. He popularised cricket among the Marathi-speaking people by his absorbing description of national cricket tournaments. The cricket terminology which is in vogue today in the Marathi Press was largely coined by him.

Another journalist, who made a mark as the reporter of the *Sandesh* was Anant Hari Gadre who later started the two weeklies, the *Mauj,* and the *Nirbheed.* He covered Tilak's well-known Home Rule League tour of Berar. His verbatim reports of Tilak's speeches and vivid description increased the popularity of the *Sandesh* and helped its spread to mofussil towns in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The *Sandesh* fell a victim to repression. It died and came to life several times, not always under the same name.

The twenties of the present century saw the birth of the *Lokamanya* published by the Lokamanya Publishing Co. Ltd., and edited by K. P. Khadilkar who had attained fame as one of the trusted lieutenants of Tilak, and had edited his *Kesari* twice with great distinction. The *Lokamanya* attained success in the first year. Its sales rose to about 18,000 copies. Soon, however, there were differences of opinion between Khadilkar and the management with the result that the former resigned from the ditorship. With his exit, the popularity of the paper waned. Sri B. G. Kher, Sri L. B. Bhopatkar and Sri R. N. Mandlik took up the editorial reins of the paper. But their efforts failed and it ceased publication in 1925.

In 1923, Khadilkar started the *Nevakal* which is today the oldest Marathi daily. If A. B. Kolhatkar popularised Marathi daily journalism, Khadilkar may be said to have introduced modern methods of production. In order

to attract readers of varying taste, he introduced regular weekly features such as commerce and industry, agriculture and the agriculturist, physical culture and games, book reviews, market reports and short stories. The *Navakal* specialised in giving maps and illustrations. It reached the zenith of its popularity when Khadilkar was sentenced for sedition in 1929. The *Navakal* also began publishing an evening daily the *Sandhyakal* which has also been in continuous publication. Khadilkar found an able associate in Professor N. R. Phatak, a former editor of the *Indu Prakash*.

Another paper which was started in Bombay during the later twenties was the *Prabhat*, founded and edited by P. M. Bhagwat. It was specially popular among the working classes. The *Prabhat* was possibly the third Marathi daily to be priced at one pice, the first being the *Mumbai Vaibhav* started in 1893 and the second being the *Taji Batami* published by Sundarao Vaidya of Vaidya Brothers, the well-known type-founders. The latter had no editorial columns. A. B. Kolhatkar was one of the *Prabhat's* contributors. Although after years of useful existence, it ultimately fell a victim to the competition of chain papers, it used to be edited ably by Sri S. S. Navare, a social worker and author. It was well known for its balanced criticism and independent views.

While the *Navakal* lent its support to official Congress policy, the *Lokamanya*, until its disappearance in 1925, was a protagonist of the Swaraj Party, and the *Prabhat* generally supported the Responsive Co-operation Party and, later, the Democratic Swaraj Party led by N. C. Kelkar. The *Prabhat* was the first Bombay paper to have its counter-part published from Poona. It began its Poona edition in 1935 under the joint editorship of P. M. Bhagwat and Sri W. R. Kothari. While the Bombay *Prabhat* ceased publication, the Poona *Prabhat*, which is now owned by Sri Kothari, is publishing.

The success of the *Prabhat* as a one-pice daily brought into existence a number of one-pice sheets which particularly catered to the needs and tastes of the working classes. In 1930-31, there were quite a number of such dailies published in Bombay. Some of them were the *Tirangi Zenda*, the *Bhagwa Zenda*, the *Shri Shivaji* and the *Dhoom Dhadaka*.

The thirties saw the birth of more dailies. The proprietors of the *Vividh Vritta* started an evening daily named the *Lokahit* in 1930 under the editorship of Professor V. N. Naik but it lasted for about seven months only. One more attempt was made by starting a daily named the *Nagarik* but it did not succeed.

In 1930, Sri D. G. Savarkar with some of his colleagues in the former *Lokamanya* started a daily named the *Shri Lokamanya*. He conducted the paper for about three years. Then he formed a limited company and started a daily, the *Lokmanya*, in 1935. Later, he handed it over to the Saurashtra Trust which is running it today. Sri P. Gadgil has been its editor for several years. Another Marathi daily to be published was the *Navashakti* started by Sadanand. Its first editor was Professor S. D. Javadekar who later became the editor of the *Lokashakti* of Poona. With the collapse of the *Free Press Journal*, *Navashakti* stopped publication, but it revived. Till recently. Sri Prabhakar Padhye was its editor. For some time in the early thirties, the *Dnyan Prakash* of Poona started a Bombay edition. It had a considerable circulation in Bombay. Still another daily to be started was the *Chitra*. It stopped for some time but has resumed publication as an evening daily.

The *Lokasatta* is the first new Marathi daily to be published from Bombay after independence. It was started in 1948 by the Express Group with Sri T. V. Parvate as its first editor. It steadily built up its circulation and today ranks first among Marathi dailies. Sri H. R. Mahajani has been its editor for a number of years.

Since the beginning of the Second World War, three other dailies were started. They were the *Sangram*, the *Jai Hind* and the *Navabharat*. They were, however, short-lived. The *Sangram* was a Royist paper. It supported the war effort when popular feeling was against it, but it had a sizeable circulation. The *Jai Hind* was edited by Sri K. P. Atre. It was popular and enjoyed good readership. Both these papers failed largely for want of adequate finances. The *Navabharat* which was a chain paper with up-to-date machinery and financial backing, failed because it was unplanned. In Bombay, the evening *Lokashahi* was started by the Saurashtra Trust on the first Independence Day. The paper was closed after a few years' existence as it was not a financial success.

The first daily to be published from Poona was the *Dnyan Prakash*. Started in 1849 as a weekly, it became a daily in 1904. Its first editor was Hari Narayan Apte the famous Marathi novelist. It was taken over by the Servants of India Society in 1909 and its successive editors, till it ceased publication in the early fifties, were N. A. Dravid, G. K. Devdhar, A. V. Patwardhan, K. G. Limaye and S. G. Gokhale. It prospered during the editorship of K. G. Limaye who made it an up-to-date daily by all round improvement and by starting a Bombay edition in 1929.

The *Dnyan Prakash* was the only Marathi daily published in Poona until the *Lokasangraha* made it appearance in 1919. Pant Haradkar was the latter's first proprietor. It supported a pro-change policy as advocate by N. C. Kelkar *vis-a-vis* non-co-operation. It was subsequently taken over by a joint stock company started for the purpose. But it closed down in 1922. In 1925, Dr. S. V. Ketkar of the *Dnyanakosh* fame started the *Poona Samachar* without success. The daily *Shantidoot* made its appearance as an organ of the *Virashaiva* community during the turn of the second decade. It continued for about four years and a later attempt to revive it failed.

The next daily to be started in Poona was the *Sakal*. It was promoted in 1931 by Dr. N. B. Parulekar who had studied in Columbia University. Slowly and steadily, it developed strength and to-day it happens to be the daily with the largest circulation published from Poona. Dr. Parulekar also started a one-pice daily called the *Tej* which, after a few years, ceased publication. Another paper to be published was the *Trikal* edited by S. L. Karandikar. It started as a one-pice paper but subsequently owing to a rise in newsprint price it increased its price to half an anna. The paper was ably edited but was short-lived. The *Kal* was the next to come on the scene. It has been published regularly but for a short break in 1948 when its press was set on fire during the riots that followed Gandhi's assassination. It supports the Hindu Mahasabha, and Sri S. R. Date is its proprietor and editor. He designed the Marathi key-board for the monotype machine and first introduced it in the Marathi Press. The official Congress daily published from Poona, the *Lokashakti*, was first started as a bi-weekly and turned into a daily. It ceased publication during the 1942 movement and was subsequently revived and continues to function as the organ of the Maharashtra Congress under the editorship of Sri N. V. Limaye. Yet another daily was the *Lokmata* priced at one-pice. Owing to differences among its proprietors, it ceased publication, and subsequently, another one-pice paper,

the *Lokahit* also had a brief career. The *Navabharat*, was another short-lived one-pice daily. The two other morning dailies published from Poona are the *Bharat*, an exponent of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sang view, and the *Manvantar*, an independent paper. The three evening dailies are the *Sandhya*, the *Sandhyakal* and the *Lokarajya*. In the thirties, three more dailies appeared from Poona. The *Rashtramata*, a daily, started as the Democratic Swaraj party organ on the eve of the first elections under the 1935 Government of India Act, ceased publication, after the elections were over. The daily *Samachar* was published for some time during the war but ultimately closed down. The Gowardhan Sanstha (Cow Protection Institute) started the *Agrani*, which, however, stopped publication after some time. Since there was a restriction on starting a new paper during the war, N. V. Godse and his friends took it over and revived it. It was edited by Godse, until his arrest on a charge of murder of Gandhi when it closed down.

The first Marathi daily to be published in the Madhya Pradesh was the *Sandesh*, printed and published from Nagpur by A. B. Kolhatkar, during the Congress Session in 1920. The *Khabar* edited by Annaji Wachasundar made its appearance as an evening daily in 1923 from Nagpur. It specialised in news and ceased publication after six months. In 1923, the Swatantrya Prakash Ltd., brought into existence the daily *Swatantrya* under the editorship of Vishwanathrao Kelkar, which lasted for about a year. The *Nispriha* started and edited as a weekly paper in 1934, by Sri M. J. Kanetkar, was published as a daily for a month in 1939. The publishers of the *Nagpur Times* also started a Marathi daily, the *Rashtradoot*, but it did not succeed.

A successful Marathi daily in Madhya Pradesh was started by Sri G. T. Madhkholkar, the well-known Marathi novelist, formerly associated with G. A. Ogale of the *Maharashtra*. The Narkesari Smarak Mandal Trust started the *Tarun Bharat* in 1944 under his editorship. But for a short break when the premises of the paper were burnt during the arson that followed Gandhi's assassination, the paper has been published continuously to this day.

The *Maharashtra*, which was started in 1914, as a weekly by G. A. Ogale, one of the lieutenants of Tilak, and was turned into a bi-weekly in 1929, became a daily in 1945. G. A. Ogale had laid its foundation firmly. It is now being edited by Sri P. D. Dhavle. The only Marathi daily published from Berar is the *Matribhoomi* of Akola. It was originally started as a weekly by B. P. Gole, and later taken over by Sri Brijlal Biyani, who recently converted it into a daily.

Before the Second World War, only a few Marathi dailies were published from mofussil centres. Two of them were the *Sholapur Samachar* and the *Vijaya* published from Sholapur. The *Vidya Vilas* published from Kolhapur had a chequered career during the years it lived. There was no freedom of the Press worth the name in Kolhapur and off and on the *Vidya Vilas* suffered at the hands of the State authorities.

During the last fifteen years, a number of attempts to start dailies in the mofussil were made and some of them have succeeded, in varying measure. The dailies at present being published are the *Gavakari* of Nasik, the *Pudhari*, the *Satyavadi* and the *Samaj* of Kolhapur, the *Sholapur Samachar* and the *Azad Hind* of Ahmednagar.

Among the dailies that came into existence since the Second World War but failed to hold ground were the *Sudarshan* of Sholapur, the *Sudarshan* of Kolhapur, the *Neta* of Miraj, the *Prakash* of Satara and the *Varta Vihar* of Belgaum.

Tilak who conducted his papers as a mission was the originator of the idea of trust ownership of newspapers. In his first will which he made while in Mandalay Jail in 1909 he declared his intention to turn the Kesari Press and his papers—the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*—into a public trust. In the second will which he prepared in 1918 at Colombo on the eve of his departure to London, Tilak again provided for the formation of a trust. The papers are conducted to-day by the Kesari and Mahratta Trust. Not only did Tilak decide to turn his papers into a public trust, but he tried to persuade some of his contemporaries to do likewise.

The *Lokamanya* which was started in 1935 as a joint stock venture is now being conducted by the Saurashtra Trust. The *Tarun Bharat* of Nagpur which was started in 1944, as a trust-owned paper, is now with a joint stock company. The *Maharashtra* founded and promoted by G. A. Ogale was formed into a trust in terms of his will, but it is now owned by the Shivraj Prakashan Ltd.

Oriya:

For a number of reasons, the Press in Orissa was a late development. Orissa was a Commissioner's Division in the Bengal Presidency at the beginning of this century, and the other Oriya-speaking tracts were in other provinces and divisions. The movement for bringing together all Oriya-speaking areas, early in this century, saw the birth of some six newspapers, of which only two survived. They were the weekly *Utkal Deepika* and the monthly *Utkal Sahitya,* and even they ceased to exist after a few years.

When the province of Bihar and Orissa was formed in 1912, the movement for a united Orissa came to life again and a number of newspapers was started. The *Asha* published as a weekly by Sashi Bhushan Dutt, was converted into a daily in 1928, and the *Samaj,* founded by Gopabandhu Das, which followed also as a weekly, added a daily edition in 1931. The *Dainik Asha* (daily) changed hands in 1942, and ceased to exist in 1951, but the weekly *Asha* continues in publication from Berhampur in Ganjam District under a new proprietor. The weekly and daily *Samaja* are still publishing from Cuttack and are doing well.

Orissa was deeply affected by Gandhi's Non-co-operation Movement. Between 1921 and 1947, a number of newspapers came into existence but were compelled to close down for want of adequate finance. Three dailies published in Oriya which appeared and disappeared in this period were the *Utkal Deepika,* the *Swaraj* and the *Prabhat.* The 1930 movement saw a fresh spurt of effort in the field of newspaper enterprise. The *Samaj* started a daily edition as mentioned, and the Balasore *Prajatantra* founded by Sri Hare Krushna Mahtab was converted from a weekly into a daily. The *Swaraj,* which was publishing as a weekly, began publishing as a daily in 1932. Government action resulted in the closure of the *Prajatantra* and the *Swaraj,* the *Samaj* being affected only for a short time. The *Prajatantra* resumed publication in 1947 and is still publishing.

With the birth of freedom in 1947, many weeklies and magazines came into being, the only addition to the dailies being the *Matrubhoomi* started in 1951 and still in publication.

Punjabi:

The birth of Punjabi newspapers may be traced to the decade between 1850 and 1860. During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, after the treaty of 1809, English missionaries established a mission at Ludhiana where they also set up a press. From that press, a Gurmukhi grammar was published in 1838. In 1854, the Mission Press, Ludhiana, published an English-Punjabi dictionary. Gurmukhi type was cast for the first time, and a paper was also started to propagate the faith. This was the first Punjabi newspaper.

In 1867, the *Akhbar Shri Darbar Sahib* was started from Amritsar under the editorship of Munshi Hari Narayan, with Phiraya Lal as the Manager. Both were great lovers of Hindi. Though the name showed a tendency towards Sikhism, the paper really espoused the cause of Hinduism. The *Akhbar Shri Darbar Sahib* was said to be a journal which sought the favour of the Government. It published court notices and other Government notifications. The Kuka Movement was at the time, gaining strength in the Punjab. The Kukas were a puritan sect preaching pure Sikhism and kindling the spirit of patriotism. Baba Ram Singh was the founder of the movement.

In 1873, the Singh Sabha was founded at Amritsar. With the movement, Punjabi journalism entered a new phase. But Punjabi prose did not make any remarkable progress till 1880, even though effort in this direction was not lacking on the part of educated people and the christians. On the contrary, the powerful influence of the old school which favoured Sanskritised Hindi held the development of Punjabi prose, in its purest form, in check.

After the initial effort made by the Ludhiana missionaries, no attempts were made to improve Gurmukhi type. Whatever was published in Gurmukhi had to be printed on litho presses. Before 1880, two more Gurmukhi newspapers appeared and these were printed on litho presses. These were the *Sukavya Sambodhini* and the *Kavi Chandrodaya*, started in 1875 and 1876 respectively. But the language used in these papers was more akin to Hindi than to Punjabi.

After 1880, the era of Punjabi newspapers employing a purer form of the language begins. The pioneer in this era was Bhai Gurmukh Singh, a Professor of the Oriental College, Lahore. He took up the propagation of the ideals of the Singh Sabha, and employed a more popular form of Punjabi in his writings.

The founders of the Singh Sabha felt the need for a Press. So they started the *Gurmukhi Akhbar* in 1880 and the *Khalsa Akhbar* in 1885. Bhai Gurmukh Singh was the founder of these journals. He started two more papers independently. They were the *Khalsa Gazette* and the *Sukhararak*. Bhai Gurmukh Singh also inspired another greater writer and scholar of Punjabi, Giani Dit Singh.

Lahore and Amritsar were two big educational centres of the Punjab at that time. A number of printing presses was established at these two places. English, Urdu and Hindi papers were already being published.

The Singh Sabhaites also started some journals from these places for the propagation of the Punjabi language. The names of the important papers of this age are *Gurmukhi Akhbar, Khalsa Akhbar, Khalsa Parkashak, Gurumat Parkashak, Singh Sabha Gazette, Lyall Khalsa Gazette, Sat Dharma Parcharak, Khalsa Samachar, Widyarak, Punjabi Sudharak, Sudhar Patrika, Sudha Sagar Nirguniara, Bharat Sudhar, Dharma Parchar, Shudhi*

Pattar, Amar Patrika, i.e. *Amar Kund* and *Khalsa Naujwan Bahadur.* The names of these papers convey their objectives—reformatory or religious. No literary journal was started. Modern Punjabi prose was taking shape and at this time, literary or philosophical articles also began to appear occasionally in these papers. The important journalists and prose-writers of Punjabi in this age are Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Giani Jhanda Singh Faridkoti, Bhai Khem Singh Bedi, Bhai Lehna Singh, Giani Dit Singh, Bhai Avtar Singh Waheria, Bhai Lahora Singh, Sardar Basant Singh, Doctor Charan Singh, Baba Rajinder Singh Sialkoti and Bhai Maiya Singh.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the use of type was well-known and Punjabi prose began to make good progress. New magazines and journals appeared in large numbers. In 1902, *Uphari, Gurmat Parchar, Ramgarhia Patrika* and in 1903 *Khalsa Sewak,* in 1904 *Masak Pattar, Chief Khalsa Dewan, Istari Sat Sang, Panth Mittar, Khalsa Chittar Akhbar* and in 1905 *Amritsar Patrika, Arorbans Gazette, Ahluwalia Gazette, Khalsa Dharam Deepak, Khalsa Youngmen's Gazette, Punjab Sewak Sangh Patrika,* were started.

Most of them appeared under the influence of the Singh Sabha. No political party had so far made use of the Press. From 1906 to 1910, there were signs of political awakening in the Punjab. During the period, *Dukh Niwaran, Civil Military Akhbar, Mufid-i-Aam, Punjab Kesari, Panth Granthi, Punjabi Behn, Nau Rattan, Istri Samachar, Beer, Nirmal Pattar, Maherra Patrika, Wiskarama, Beer Akhbar, Sacha Dhandora, Punjabi Premi, Patiala Gazette* and *Dit Singh Magazine* were running. There was no political paper publishing at the time.

When Tilak was jailed and Sardar Ajit Singh was exiled, it disturbed the political atmosphere in the Punjab. The demolition of the Gurdwara Raqab Ganj wall and the ban on the Kirpan inflamed the Sikhs. At Budge Budge, the *Komagata Maru* Sikhs coming back to India from America were fired at.

The Sikhs started a movement for the restoration of the right of carrying of the Kirpan and the Gurdwara Raqab Ganj. At the same time, Indians in America founded the Ghandhar Party. Under its management, they started a paper the *Hindustan Ghandar.* The progressive group in Punjab started the *Panth Sewak,* the *Shaheed* and the *Punjab Surma.* In 1914, on the outbreak of the first World War, the Government made peace with the Sikhs by accepting their demands.

During this time, the following papers were published:—

> *Punjab Reporter, Vaid Raj, Phulwari, Nam Deo Pattar, Temperance Magazine, Jeewan Sudhar, Sukh Data, Istri Sudhar Pattar, Gian, Punjabi Darpan, Sach Khand, Chandar, Sukh Jeewan Panth Chikitsa. Darpan, Bhujangam Pattar, Widya, Istri Sudhar, Sughar Saheli* and *Gurumath Prachar Magazine* etc.

Punjabi journalism entered a new phase with the Akali movement. In this era many happenings of political significance revitalised the national movement. General Dyer opened fire in the Jallianwala Bagh and hundreds of Punjabis were killed. In 1920, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee was organised and the Akali Movement was started to reform Sikh Gurdwaras. The Udasis formed Udasin Mahan Mandal to safeguard their preserves from the Akalis.

In 1921, the Nankana Sahib incident occurred and, in 1922, the Morcha of Guru Ka Bagh. In 1923, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh was deposed. In the Nabha movement, there was firing on the Sikhs at Jaitu. A great change came over the political atmosphere in the Punjab. The Sikh agitation against the Mahants and the Government was a revolutionary movement. The development of new trends in Punjabi journalism in such an era was natural. The following papers came into being under the influence of the Akali Movement:—

Akali (1920), *Ranjit, Sansar, Khara Jathedar, Pardesi, Khalsa Sangat, Ramgarhia Gazette, Akali Te Pardesi, Gargaj Akali, Babar Sher, Sat Sang, Sant Sewak, Dharma Vir, Sant Samachar, Kirpan Bahadur, Desi Sewak, Nirol Khalsa, Qaumi Dard, Riyasti Kehar, Chhankana, Gebar Gambhir Gazette, Azad Behn, Pritam Phulwari, Kirti, etc.*

In 1926 the Gurdwara Act was passed, but the question of reform and of possession of the Gurdwaras continued to agitate the public mind for a long time afterwards.

The same year with the efforts of Sardar Sewa Singh Thikriwala, the Riasti Praja Mandal was founded. The object of the Mandal was to have the grievances of the States' people redressed and to secure political rights. The *Riyasti Kehar* was the weekly organ of the movement.

In this period, 23 daily papers (8 published after every fifth day), 67 weeklies, 4 fortnightlies, 25 monthlies and 1 quarterly were started. Master Sunder Singh Lyallpuri, Master Tara Singh, Sardar Mangal Singh, Sardar Sardul Singh Kaveeshar, Giani Uttam Singh, Sardar Gurbaksh Singh, Sardar Naranjan Singh Talib, Sardar Avtar Singh Azad, Giani Satnam Singh, Sardar Gurmukh Singh 'Amol' and Sardar Gurbux Singh 'Preet Lari' were the writers of this age.

In 1936-37, the general elections were held throughout the country under the Government of India Act 1935. New responsibilities devolved on the newspapers. Many political parties entered the field. Many newspapers were started to lead the people in the elections. In 1939, the Second World War commenced. Restrictions on the Press were tightened and many newspapers were banned. After the 1942 movement, the newspapers received even harsher treatment. Many were penalised and banned. Even then the National Press did not flinch.

During this period 3 dailies, 31 weeklies, 4 fortnightlies and 52 monthlies were started. Of these, *Azad Hind, Vartman, Barma Sikh Samachar, Panj Darya, Kanwal, Bal Sandesh, Atom Science, Jeewan Priti* and *Panjabi Sahit* are important.

The important journalists of the time are Professor Mohan Singh, Sardar Gurbux Singh, Sardar Har Kishan Singh, Sohan Singh Josh, Giani Sher Singh, Master Abhay Singh, Sardar Avtar Singh Azad and Professor Surinder Singh Kohli. They improved literary standards and introduced people to a more virile type of Punjabi journalism. Now Punjabi newspaper evinced keener interest in matters of political, economic and literary interest.

The division of Punjab gave a heavy blow to Punjabi journalism. Lahore, the big centre of Punjabi journalism was lost. All Gurumukhi papers and magazines were uprooted.

Many Gurmukhi papers rehabilitated themselves in a short time; and now there is no dearth of new enterprises in the field.

During the short time between 1947-52, 7 dailies, 5 weeklies, one fortnightly, two monthlies and a quarterly were started. *Asha Lalkar, Nirmal Sandesh, Lok Raj, Punjabi Patrika, Nawen Rah, Prakash Akash, Sunder Sandesh, Lok Jug, Weer Bhumi, Lok Sahit, Sawera, Prem Patari, Bal Sansar, Nawian Keemtan, Sada Jug, Jeewan Sandesh, Adarsh, Jhakhar, Chardhi Kala, Amar Kahanian, Amar Jot, Punjabi Duniya, Punjabi Sahit, Durbar, Nawain Rijhan, Pyar Sanjhan, Kawita, Ithasik Pattar, Kheti Bari* are the journals of this period.

The new Constitution of India has granted more privileges to the Scheduled Castes and some papers have come out to serve their cause. *Nirol Khalsa, Azad Dharmi, Aadi Danka, Khalsa Brother, Dukhi Khalsa, Hamara Jeewan, Ujala, Harijan Udhar, Age Badho, Baba Jeewan Singh Gazette* are worth mentioning.

Tamil:

The Christian Missionary effort in Tamil journalism has been dealt with in an earlier chapter on the Indian languages Press. Reference has also been made to the *Swadesamitran* in tracing the development of the Press in the context of growing political consciousness. It is enough to mention here that the *Swadesamitran* started in 1882 as a weekly, was converted into a tri-weekly in 1897 and a daily in 1899. Sobriety in Tamil journalism owes its origin to the sound tradition built up by the *Swadesamitran* whose founder was also the founder of the *Hindu.* For 18 years, the paper held the field of daily journalism in monopoly and it was not until 1917, that T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar started the daily *Desabhaktan* which was later edited by V. V.. S. Iyer who was associated with the revolutionary activities of the Savarkar brothers. Both editors were writers of repute, and although the paper lasted for only three years, it made its contribution to the development of style in the language. Again for another six years the *Swadesamitran* held the field alone until in 1926, the editor of the weekly *Tamil Nadu,* Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, started publishing a companion daily. Edited in popular Tamil, the *Tamil Nadu* made inroads into the position of the *Swadesamitran,* but, in 1930, it stood aloof from the Civil Disobedience Movement and the rival Congress paper, *India,* came into the field and remained there with some success.

Round about 1933, the first one-pice paper, *Jayabharati,* started publication and, in following year, the Free Press of India group brought out the daily *Dinamani* with Sri T. S. Chockalingam as editor. Competition started in earnest with the publication of this lively paper priced at six pies. The *India* was wound up and the *Tamil Nadu* was merged in the *Dinamani.* The *Swadesamitran* was also affected by the competition and it had in consequence to change its face and bring down the price. The *Jayabharati* closed down on the eve of World War II, leaving the two Tamil dailies, the *Dinamani* and the *Swadesamitran,* the sole rivals in daily journalism, with a third started in 1935 but essentially a views-paper named the *Viduthalai.*

The *Bharata Devi* came into being in 1940, as the organ of the non-Brahmin movement and, in 1943, Sri Chockalingam left the *Dinamani* to start the *Dinasari* in the following year, which continued in publication till 1952. Almost all through this period daily journalism in Tamil had been confined to Madras city.

In 1942, however, the daily *Thanthi* was started publishing simultaneously from Madurai, Madras, Salem and Tiruchirapalli, but only the editions from the first two placed survived. In 1952, a new enterprise from Madurai revived the old name of the *Tamil Nadu* and Coimbatore had its own paper, the *Nava India*.

Mention should be made of a weekly paper the *India* edited by Subrahmanya Bharati who led the national awakening and made a vital contribution to Tamil prose and poetry. The *Swatantra Sanghu*, a tri-weekly paper, published by the well-known firm of publishers owned by S. Ganesan, strongly supported the civil disobedience movement of 1930 and achieved unrivalled popularity throughout the districts of Tamil Nad, and together with another paper, the *Gandhi*, attained a circulation of a lakh. Ganesan also published a large volume of literature in English including volumes of speeches of eminent leaders, books dealing with the national movement and the series known as the *Four-Anna Patriots*, all of them containing valuable material relating to the national movement from its early beginnings. Most of these publications are now unfortunately out of print.

Tamil can claim an outstanding position among the Indian languages for its weeklies, the best known of which are the *Ananda Vikatan* started in 1924 and edited and owned by Sri S. S. Vasan and the *Kalki* started in 1941 and edited by Sri R. Krishnamurti. Leading monthlies of equal standing are the *Kalaimagal* publishing since 1932 and edited by Sri. K. V. Jagannathan and *Cauveri* started in 1941 and edited by Sri N. R. Ramanujam.

Telegu:

As in other Indian languages so also in Telugu, the first newspaper published in the sixties of the last century owed its inception to missionary effort. The *Hitavadi* which was published weekly ceased to exist after a few years. The Canadian Baptist Mission publishes the weekly *Ravi* from Kakinada, giving space to news as well as religious matters. Rao Bahadur K. Veeresalingam Pantulu, scholar, educationist and social reformer, made a beginning in Telugu journalism with his weekly the *Vivekavardhani* devoted to social and language reform. A competing paper was the *Andhrabhasha Sanjivini*, edited by Venkataratnam Pantulu, also a scholar and socio-religious leader. These two papers carried on a lively controversy on the common subjects in which they were interested. The first news weekly was started in 1886 by A. P. Parathasarathi Naidu. It was published from Madras under the name of the *Andhra Prakasika*. It supported the Congress simultaneously with which it came into being and after 25 years of continued existence it was published twice a week but only for a brief period, after which it reverted to a weekly. Another paper started at about this time by Gathupalli Seshacharyulu passed through the same process of expansion and contraction. It was the first paper to take up the cause of Andhra.

The first two papers to be published from outside Madras were the *Godavari* and the *Andhra Kesari* from Rajamundri. Before the turn of the century. Nellore had the *People's Front*, Guntur the *Dharma Sadhani* and the *Vrittanta Manjari* was published from Madras. All the three journals stimulated interest in public affairs. Later, Sitaramayya Pantulu published the *Desopakari* from Elluru, which was subsequently edited by Veerabhadra Rao who won for it a degree of popularity in the Krishna and Godavari districts.

The credit for starting a daily paper goes to Devagupta Seshachalrao who started the *Desabhimani,* first as a fortnightly, then as a weekly and bi-weekly and, finally, for a while as a daily newspaper.

In the last century there were a number of literary journals published in Telugu, prominent among them being the *Amudrithagrandha Chintamani* published and edited by P. Ramakrishnayya. The journal attracted literary talent of the highest order and the editor himself with the assistance of others reproduced the contents of a number of old palm-leaf manuscripts. Veeresalingam Pantulu also started his monthly the *Chintamani* in which he vigorously propagated social reform. Other journals which followed in the wake of these two were Chalapathi Rao's *Manjuvani* which was financed by Raja Bhujangrao, Kochcherlakota Krishnarao's *Saraswati,* A. V. Sankhyana Sharma's *Kalpalata,* Lakshminarasimham's *Manorama,* Venkatarama Rao's *Kalpavali,* Anandacharyulu's *Vijayanthi* and A. Suryanaraju's *Sarada.*

In the twentieth century, Pinjalsubramanya Chetty took up the non-Brahmin cause in the daily *Samadarsini* which had a brief but lively existence in his life-time. From Rajamundri was published the *Congress* under the auspices of the Sitanagram Ashram, edited by M. Annapurnaiah. At about this time a controversy arose between the champions of literary Telugu and simple popular Telugu. The cause of simple Telugu was taken by the *Andhra Sahitya Parishad Patrika* published by the Parishad in 1911 and still going strong, and Venkataramamurthi Panthulu's *Telugu* which, however, ceased to exist in 1913 after a year's life. Sripada Krishnamurti Shastri championed literary Telugu in the *Vajrayudham* and Srirama Shastri advocated the compromise middle-course in the *Sarada* published from Machilipatnam. The foundations of modern Telugu were, however, laid in the journal *Janata* published and edited by Viswanadha Satyanarayana and Ramakoteswara Rao.

Telugu had its pice-papers the *Gandeevam* and the *Devadattam* which gained wide circulation in their brief existence.

Andhra's first successful daily paper the *Andhra Patrika* which is still publishing was started as a weekly from Bombay in 1908 by Nageswara Rao. He moved it to Madras in 1914 and after a few years converted it into a daily. The *Patrika* acquired its form and character under the editorship of Seshagiri Rao and on his death Nageswara Rao himself took over the editorship. He favoured sober advocacy of the Andhra cause. The daily and the weekly as well as the monthly *Bharati,* started in the late twenties, have become an institution widely patronised by the Telugu-reading public. The present editor, Sri Shambu Prasad, is sustaining the old traditions with ability.

A popular rival is the *Andhra Prabha,* first published in 1939 and edited by Sri Khasa Subba Rao and later by Sri N. Narayanamurti and now by Sri Narala Venkataswara Rao who is esteemed as an able writer in Telugu and a keen student of affairs.

These two dailies have held the field between them against the ineffectual competition of some seven journals, one of which alone had to close down because of Government action, namely, the *Prajasakti* published from Vijayawada, which has now been succeeded by *Visalandhra,* the daily Communist organ.

Weekly journalism has been more steady in Andhra than its daily counter-part. The *Krishna Patrika* started in 1902 by Sri Konda Venkatappayya and Sri Dasu Narayana Rao and edited later by Sri Mutnuri Krishna Rao and Sri K. Ramakoteswara Rao is not only the premier Telugu weekly journal but also enjoys a reputation above the dailies as the spokesman of Andhra nationalism. It is now edited by Sri K. Venkateswara Rao. Other weeklies in successful publication are the *Prajamitra* and the *Anandavani* edited by Sri V. Kalidas, the *Janavani* edited by Sri Dharma Rao and the *Prajabandhu* edited by Sri S. D. Acharya and the *Swatantra* published in English and Telugu and edited by Sri Khasa Subba Rao.

There are, in addition, film journals, children's journals and women's magazines which enjoy a well-established position.

Urdu:

The progress of Urdu journalism up to 1853 has been traced in earlier pages. During this period the means of communication were very limited and for the most part, the editors had to depend upon their own resourcefulness in putting together material for publication. There was no uniformity of language or style. The choice of subjects and the method of presentation were invariably matters of individual taste and predilection, but a heavily ornamented, pseudo-literary style abounding in metaphorical expressions and rhyming sentences was most popular, especially with the journals publishing from the U.P. Except to some extent in the Punjab. politics did not attract much attention. In fact, the journalism of this period was predominantly individual in character.

The introduction of lithography in 1837 gave a great filip to the growth of Urdu journalism. The number of Urdu journals increased rapidly after the rebellion of 1857. The Urdu Press which emerged after the Great Rebellion was comparatively restrained in dealing with public and political affairs. The emphasis noticeably shifted to a utilitarian type of journalism. Educational matters and historical and scientific information were now more in demand. The people evinced growing interest in western knowledge. This was perhaps a natural trend after the great shake-up. The changed political climate had its effect on the language also. It came nearer to everyday speech.

The number of journals which made their appearance during this period is very large. The important ones were the *Oudh Akhbar* (1858), the *Scientific Society Magazine* (Aligarh) and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's *Tahzib-ul-Ikhlaq* (Aligarh). The main centres of publications were Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Agra, Aligarh and Meerut.

It might interest the reader to know the names of some of the many papers which came out during the first thirty years of this period (1854-1884) from the chief centres of journalistic activity. From Delhi came out: The *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* (1856); the *Akmal-ul-Akhbar* of Munshi Behari Lal Mushtaq (1866); the *Nasir-ul-Akhbar* (1873), the *Nusrat-ul-Akhbar* and the *Nusrat-ul-Islam* of Maulvi Nusrat Ali (1873); the *Mufid-i-Hind* and the *Khair-Khwah-i-Hind* both of Munshi Maha Narain (1875); the *Mer-i-Darakhshan* (1875); the *Safir-i-Hind* of Munshi Bulaq Das (1876); the *Rekhti Akhbar* of Munshi Maha Narain (1881); and the *Akhbar-un-Nisa* of Maulvi Syed Ahmad the famous lexicographer, which had the distinction of being intended for women readers (1884).

From Lucknow came out, in 1858, the *Oudh Akhbar* of Munshi Newal Kishore, one of the most enterprising of publishers in Northern India; the *Bharat Patrika* of the Anjuman-i-Oudh (1862); the *Kaukab-i-Hind* (1871); the *Muraqqa-i-Tehzib* (1874); the *Akhbar-i-Tamannai* of Munshi Pooran Chand (1875); the *Anwar-ul-Akhbar* of Mohammed Teg Bahadur (1876); the *Oudh Punch* of Munshi Sajjad Husain (1877); the *Mushir-i-Qaisar* of Munshi Ghulam Mohammad Tabish (1879).

Meerut came out with several papers; the *Akhbar-i-Alam* of Wajahat Ali Khan (1861); the *Najmul-Akhbar* of Maulvi Mohammed Hayat (1863); the *Lawrence Gazette* of Syed Jamiluddin (1864); the *Shana-i-Hind* of Maulana Shaukat Husain (1883).

From Lahore were published the Punjabi Akhbar (1865); the *Akhbar Anjuman-i-Punjab* (1870); the *Akhbar-i-Aam* (1871); the *Aftab-i-Punjab* with Dewan Boota Singh as proprieto. and Munshi Faqir Mohammad as Editor (1873); the *Delhi Punch* of Munshi Nisar Ali Shuhrat (1880); the *Reformer* of Nathu Ram Anand (1882); and the *Rafiq-i-Hind* of Munshi Maharram Ali Chishti.

By 1887, there were three Urdu dailies in circulation *viz.*, the *Oudh Akhbar* (1858); the *Rozana Akhbar* and the *Paisa Akhbar* (1887). The *Oudh Akhbar* also published cartoons by Wazir Ali Shauq and Ganga Sahai. This journal commanded considerable influence. The opinions of the *Koh-i-Noor* (1851), the *Akhbar-i-Am* (1871) and the *Oudh Punch* (1877) were also valued by the public and the officials.

In the earlier years of this period, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Swami Daya Nand introduced reformist trends in their respective communities and these trends gradually nurtured political consciousness. The *Tehzibul Akhlaq* represented a landmark in Urdu journalism. No Urdu paper before or after it influenced, in such measure, the opinion of its readers on such a wide range of questions—social, religious and educational. As a relentless critics of the social stagnation and religious orthodoxy of the Indian Muslims, it generated a storm of opposition which was represented by a number of reactionary papers like the *Nur-ul-Afaw* and the *Nur-ul-Anwar* of Kanpur. The articles of the *Tehzibul Akhlaq* have gone into several editions in book form in later years. Politics, history, education and religion began to find more and more space in the Urdu Press. Though the Urdu papers generally, followed a loyalist policy, they did not lag behind in voicing popular demands and sentiments. Some of the important public affairs of the period were the North West Frontier policy, Russia, Germany, home politics, the Civil Service competition, educated unemployment, resentment against income-tax etc. Murders of Indians by European and their insistence on subordinates appearing before them barefooted, also elicted adverse comment. The Ilbert Bill agitation also touched the Urdu Press.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, there were about 70 Urdu journals being published more or less regularly. In the nineteenth century, the Urdu Press beat Hindi by its numerical strength, but within two decades of the twentieth century, the position was reversed so that in 1921, the total number of Urdu journals was 151, and there were 175 Hindi journals in circulation. Most of the Urdu publications were weekly or fortnightly. In 1902, three Urdu dailies, *viz.* the *Oudh Akhbar* (1858) and *Paisa Akhbar* (1887) and the *Sulh-e-Kul* (1902) were being published.

The appearance of the Indian National Congress (1885) and the Muslim League (1905) on the Indian political scene lent force and direction to nascent national consciousness. The *Urdu Swarajya* (1907) from Allahabad had a nationalist policy. On June 1, 1912, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad launched the weekly *Al Hilal*. Welcoming the *Al Hilal,* Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote in his weekly the *Comrade :*

"We can well understand the enormous labour and expense that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, its talented editor, must have gone through before launching this weekly journal. It strikes a new line in journalism by including pictorial illustrations as a permanent feature in its columns. The adoption of the Turkish type, though not exactly an innovation, is a welcome departure from the obsolete methods which in spite of their clumsiness and tedium still retain a paralysing hold on the Urdu Press of the country. Literary and scientific discussions and Muslim educational affairs will have a permanent space assigned to them besides the regular presentment of the state of affairs in Turkey, Persia, Morocco and the Islamic world in general".

Mahadeo Desai, commenting on this in his brief biography of the Maulana writes :—

"This note of welcome does not indeed make any mention of the policy of the journal. But the reason is obvious. The policy of the *Comrade* then followed the lines of the Aligarh school of thought, and anyone who started with the ambition of checking the prevailing current could not expect to find favour with it." ...."The *Al Hilal* made its influence felt within a few weeks of its birth. Within six months its circulation had reached the figure of 11,000—a considerable figure if we remember that the annual subscription was Rs. 12 and the bulk of its readers were Mussalmans. The flutter that it had succeeded in creating in the loyal and reactionary dove cotes may be measured by the fact that Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan and others started an agitation against it and they partially succeeded in affecting its circulation in Calcutta, obviously because there were few in Bengal who could follow its classical Urdu. But its influence in the United Provinces steadily increased, and such was its popularity that study circles were formed where scores of people assembled together to hear the paper read out to them.

The *Al Hilal* not only made no secret of its political objective, but took a bold line in matters, social and religious. There were riots in Ajodhya in 1913 arising out of the usual dispute over cow-slaughter, and the Maulana boldly told the Mussalmans that their insistence on the right of cow-slaughter was far from conducive to communal peace. His view was so strange in those days that even his intimate friend Hakim Ajmal Khan fell foul of him and carried on a bitter controversy with him. It was only in 1920 that the good Hakim Saheb saw his error, confessed it to Maulana, and became an enthusiast in the matter, like the Maulana himself. Maulana Mohamed Ali too was one of his strong opponents and critics. The influence of the paper was felt not only in India but abroad, the later European events so conspired that even its bitterest critics were convinced of the wisdom of the line taken up by the Maulana".

Maulana Azad wielded a powerful pen and had the courage of his conviction. On April 7, 1915, the Bengal Government expelled him and he was interned at Ranchi until the beginning of 1920.

A contemporary of the *Al Hilal* was the *Madina,* also founded in 1912, at Bijnor, under the editorship of Hamidul Ansari. This journal played a significant role in the politics of the country and considerably influenced Muslim public opinion.

In the same year Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb established the *Hamdam* at Lucknow. Maulana Mohammad Ali shifted the *Comrade* to Delhi and the *Hamdard* commenced publication. Both the *Comrade* (English) and the *Hamdard* edited by Maulana Mohammed Ali were powerful exponents of

the Muslim nationalist cause marked by his individuality and the editor filled the columns of the two papers with vigorous exhortations from his tireless and trenchant pen. Frequent prosecutions and protracted periods of detention of the editor resulted in irregular publication, but they did not damp the political fervour of the editor who went to prison to come out again and write with renewed vigour. S. S. Nigam brought out the weekly *Azad* from Kanpur.

In the year 1913, the *Patna Akhbar* was brought out under the editorship of Haji Sajid Jan. It was a weekly. In the same year, the *Ittehad* and the *Star of India* were brought out from Patna. In 1913, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad started another paper *Al Balagh.*

With the outbreak of World War I, restrictions on the Indian language Press were tightened and no fresh enterprise appeared noticeable till 1919, when the *Haqiqat* was brought out from Lucknow and the *Pratap* from Lahore. Both were dailies. The first issue of the *Pratap* came out on March 30, 1919 under the editorship of Mahashe Krishan. The Punjab was politically disturbed at the time. The agitation against the Rowlatt Bills was gaining momentum. Gandhi's call for passive resistance was taken up by the Press. The *Pratap* also joined the opposition. The Government promptly suppressed it after a brief existence of barely ten days, and Mahashe Krishan, its proprietor-editor, was arrested on April 18. The *Pratap* re-appeared in February, 1920, but its security was forfeited a couple of months later. Between 1919 and 1936, it was suppressed a number of times. Its securities were forfeited in 1919, 1930 and 1932. It did not fare any better during the Unionist regime. Gradually, it leaned more towards communalism.

In 1920, Lala Lajpat Rai started *Bande Mataram* under the editorship of Sardar Mohan Singh Sawhney. It was a popular newspaper but it ceased publication after the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. It is now in irregular publication from Delhi.

The *Zamindar,* founded by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan was a pioneer effort in the field of Urdu daily journalism. It followed a completely nationalist policy and weathered many a storm of repression.

The *Milap* was founded on April 13, 1923, by Mahashe Khushal Chand. Before launching the *Milap,* Mahashe Khushal Chand was editing the *Arya Gazette,* an Arya Samajist weekly. The *Milap* and the *Pratap* were in fact organs of the *Arya Samaj,* the former representing the views of the College section and the latter those of the Gurukul Section. But both these papers sided with the nationalist forces. The *Milap* followed a policy in substantial agreement with the policies of the Congress. It was subjected to the usual repressive measures of forfeiture of securities, searches and C.I.D. vigilance. The *Milap* gave unstinted support to the Khilafat movement but it criticised the Communal Award. It condemned the agitation for the boycott of legislatures by the Congress and opposed concessions to the Muslim League.

There were several forfeitures of security in the case of the *Milap.* Its editor, Chaudhri Gauri Shankar, was at one time, arrested. Sri Ranbir who is now the managing editor of the paper at Delhi, had close association with the revolutionary movement. The activities of the revolutionaries, therefore, figured prominently in the *Milap.* Sri Ranbir was sentenced to death in the Governor shooting case, but the Lahore High Court acquitted

him. Just before the partition, the *Milap* ran into serious trouble. Its offices were several times raided by riotous mobs. The godown and the block-making department were set on fire and Sri Ranbir was stabbed. The paper had to suspend publication for about a month and a half.

In 1923, Swami Shraddhanand founded the *Tej* at Delhi with Deshbandhu Gupta as its Managing Director. It is being published under the editorship of Sri Jamnadas Akhtar. The *Tej* consistently followed a nationalist policy. It has also worked to eradicate social evils.

About 1925 and 1926, two Urdu dailies, the *Siasat* and the *Inquilab*, appeared. These papers were completely communal in outlook, and eventually aligned themselves with the Muslim League.

In 1925, the All-India Shia Conference brought out the *Sarfaraz* from Lucknow. The same year the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind launched the *Al Jamiat* under the editorship of Maulana Mohammad Usman.

To meet the demands of the Sanatanists, Goswami Ganesh Datt brought out the *Vir Bharat* from Lahore in 1928. Like other Indian language dailies, it too joined the struggle for freedom and threw open its columns to the Congress. In the lifetime of Madan Mohan Malaviya it was practically under his influence and followed whatever policy he pursued in politics. It was also gagged once or twice and its securities forfeited. When the Muslim League agitation grew, the *Vir Bharat* took up the cause of the Hindus.

In 1930, R. R. Malihabadi and S. M. Usmani founded the daily *Rozana Hind* at Calcutta. In 1936 Mohammad Usman Azad brought out the daily *Anjam* from Calcutta.

Between 1931 and 1937, a large number of periodicals appeared. Sri Dina Nath brought out the *Rehbar* from Srinagar in 1931 and Sri Khalil Badar brought out the *Alhamra* from Bhopal in 1936. An important weekly which started publication during this period was the *Riasat* under the editorship of Sardar Dewan Singh Maftoon. It concerned itself mainly with the Indian States. In 1936, Sardar Gurbax Singh started *Preet Lari*, an Urdu monthly, which had constructive socialism as its policy. Lately, this journal has aligned itself completely with the policies of the Communist party.

In 1937, Khushtar Girami brought out *Biswin Sadi* from Delhi. In 1938, the Urdu dailies in circulation in the Bombay presidency included the *Khilafat*, the *Hilal*, the *Al Hilal* and the *Ajmal*. The *Khilafat*, the mouthpiece of the Central Khilafat Committee, was the oldest of these but by 1938, it had aligned itself with the Muslim League. The three others did not belong to any political group or institution but were owned by private individuals. The *Hilal* was a strong advocate of the Muslim League while the *Ajmal* was on the side of the Congress.

Among the periodicals, the *Khatun*, the *Musawwir*, the *Sarosh*, the *Tanvir* and the *Subah-e-Ummid* were prominent. The *Tanvir* was edited by Asghari Begum Sehar and the *Subah-e-Ummid* was edited by Sri Abdul Hamid Bubire.

Other journals in existence at this time were the *Din-o-Duniya*, the *Sidq*, the *Malvi*, the *Paras* etc.

This decade in the history of Urdu journalism marked the birth and growth of a large number of literary magazines like *Adabi Duniya* (Lahore), the *Adab-i-Latif* (Lahore), the *Humayun* (Lahore), the *Shahkar* (Lahore), the *Saqi* (Delhi) etc.

In 1939, Yusuf Dehlvi brought out the *Shama*, a monthly, from Delhi. The journal has a very good circulation now. Its main appeal lies in exposing personal details about film stars and others.

In the same year, the *Hindustan Daily* began to publish from Bombay. It was owned by Ghulam Mohd. Khan and edited by Raza Said. Another daily to start publication from Bombay in 1939 was the *Inquilab-i-Jadid* edited by Abdul Hamid Ansari.

In Madras, Syed Azmakalla Sahib founded the *Mussalman*.

The important journals being published in Bihar at this time were the following: *Alliham* (Sasaram-Arrab), *Alaeen* (Bihar Sharif), *Al Ekram* (Bihar Sharif), *Al Haque* (Siwan—Chhapra), *Arrash* (Monghyr), *Al Adal* (Patna), *Al Moddahir* (Patna), *Baibak* (Patna), *Panch* (Bihar), *Taj* (Gaya), edited by Sri Jagdishwar Prasad, M.L.A., *Fitrat* (Rajgir), *Nadeem* (Gaya), edited by Anjum, *Nageeb* (Phulwari Sharif), *Aftab* (Purnea), *Husn-o-Ishq* (Dehri) edited by A. Quayum Ansari, *Majla Salfia* (Darbhanga).

After 1940, nearly a dozen daily, weekly and monthly journals started publication from Patna.

The *Ajit* was started in 1940 from Lahore. It claimed to be the spokesman of the Sikh community and had the blessings of the Akali Dal. After the partition, it was dominated by Giani Kartar Singh and his group. Even when the Giani joined the Gopichand Ministry, his influence on the editorial policy of the paper continued though now and again differences between the Minister and the editor were visible. The Minister opposed the demand for the formation of a Punjabi-speaking province and this policy was supported by the paper. The paper was critical of Master Tara Singh so long as Giani Kartar Singh remained a member of the Punjab Cabinet. After he left the ministry, the paper changed its policies and supported the demand for a Punjabi-speaking province. Its policy at present continues to be Pro-Akali and anti Hindu where the interests of the Sikhs clash with those of the Hindus, and anti-Congress and anti-Government as far as possible.

When the Negoke-Majhail group seceded from the Akali Dal led by Master Tara Singh, it started its own paper, the *Sher-i-Bharat* under the editorship of Sardar Amar Singh. Its policy was pro-Congress.

In 1942, the *Prabhat* was brought out from Lahore under the editorship of Sri Nanak Chand Naz. It was the first paper in the United Punjab to be started on a co-operative basis by working journalists. It followed an independent policy but was conservative and inclined to favour the Hindu cause from the very beginning. The *Prabhat* was an independent pro-Congress paper till about 3 years ago when it was purchased by Master Tara Singh who now owns it and directs its policies.

In 1942, Syed Nazir Haider founded the *Sada-e-Am* at Patna. The *Naujawan weekly* from Patna was an educational journal. The *Sathi* daily was founded by Suhail Azimabadi who himself edited it for two and half years and then passed it on to Ghulam Sarwar. The paper is now being

edited by Ghulam Sarwar and Wilayat Ali Shah. An Urdu edition of the *People's War* published by the Communist Party of India the *Naya Zamana* appeared from Bombay in 1942.

In 1945 the *Qaumi Awaz,* was founded by Jawaharlal Nehru at Lucknow, and is edited by Hayatullah Ansari, formerly editor of *Hindustan* of Lucknow. Chaudhuri Khaliq-uz-Zaman brought out the *Tanveer* in the same year.

The partition affected the Urdu Press in the Punjab and a large number of journals was uprooted. Lahore, the nerve centre of all popular activities, was lost and most of the Urdu papers found a home in Delhi. The *Pratap* and the *Milap* are now publishing from Delhi. Both are simultaneously published from Jullundur as well and an edition of the *Milap* appears from Hyderabad. The *Vir Bharat* shifted to Amritsar and started a Delhi edition. The *Prabhat* is being published from Amritsar. Lala Jagat Narain has started the *Hind Samachar* from Jullundur. The Communist Party started *Naya Zamana* from Jullundur in 1952.

CHAPTER XVIII—ERA OF MODERN EXPANSION

The third and fourth decades of the twentieth century saw the establishment and growth of a number of newspapers despite the stringent Press regulations in force during the period. During the war period (1914—1918), Delhi's first newspaper, the *Delhi Mail*, made a feeble start and went out of existence in 1923. In the following year, the *Hindustan Times* made its appearance as an Akali paper with a Congress slant. It was edited by Sardar K. M. Panikkar. The funds were provided by the Akalis and the Maharaja of Nabha who was at the time anxious to have himself re-instated as the ruler of the State. Soon, the Akalis were in political difficulties and their finances ran low. The paper itself was incurring losses and the Akalis sold out to Madan Mohan Malaviya who financed the paper from donations and from a personal loan from the Punjab National Bank. At the outset, it was jointly owned by Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Raja Narendra Nath and Sri M. R. Jayakar, who became the first directors. Later in 1927, a company was formed when Sri G. D. Birla also became a director after purchasing some shares. Sardar Panikkar resigned the editorship soon after and was succeeded by Sri Jairamdas Daulatram who remained as editor for few months. Thereafter, Sri J. N. Sahni edited the paper till 1932 when he resigned and was succeeded by Sri Pothan Joseph. During this period, the paper passed completely into the hands of Sri G. D. Birla. Sri Pothan Joseph was succeeded by Sri Devadas Gandhi who has been the Managing Editor of the paper since 1940. The *Hindustan Times* commands a leading position in Delhi in the face of competition from powerful rivals.

Colonel Van Renan started the *Delhi Chronicle* in 1927 but it was absorbed in the *Pioneer* of Allahabad two years later. The *Statesman* started its New Delhi edition in 1929 and enjoys the unique distinction of being the only British-owned and edited newspaper in the country to-day.

In 1932, the National Journals Ltd. started the morning and evening *National Call* in English and the *Navyug* in Hindi. The directors included Dr. M. A. Ansari, Raizada Hans Raj, Seth Govind Das, Sri Jagan Nath Aggarwal and T. C. Goswami. Sri J. N. Sahni, the editor, and Shri K. D. Kohli, the Managing Director, were also members of the Board. The *National Call* was the first one-anna paper in Delhi, the first to publish on Sundays and the first to bring out a full-size companion Hindi edition. In time, the proprietorship of the paper passed into the hands of Sri Sahni and Sri Kohli who sold out to Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia in 1946. The new management changed the name of the papers to the *Indian News Chronicle* and the *Nav Bharat Times* respectively. Sri Sahni continued as editor for a few months and, after a couple of years, when Seth Dalmia acquired the *Times of India* Bombay, he transferred control of the *Indian News Chronicle* to Sri Ramnath Goenka and Deshbandhu Gupta. With the latter's sudden death in 1952, the *Indian News Chronicle* was incorporated in the Express Group of newspapers of Madras and Bombay and its name was changed to *Delhi Express*. Later in July 1953, it was converted into the Delhi edition of the *Indian Express* published from Madras.

In 1927, S. Sadanand, started the *Free Press of India Agency* with the avowed purpose of providing coverage to national political activity which the officially controlled *Associated Press of India* was unable to do. By 1930, Sadanand found that newspapers were reluctant, for various reasons, to take his service and he launched the *Free Press Journal* from Bombay on June 13, 1930, with the support of Sir Purushottam Das Thakurdas, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Sri M. R. Jayakar, Walchand Hirachand and Shri G. D. Birla. The paper was published at half an anna and provided an exclusive news service to its readers which it displayed in bold type with striking headlines. The *Free Press Bulletin* was launched in May 1932 as an evening daily but it was discontinued four months later. In August the same year, Sadanand started the *Nav Bharat* as a Gujerati daily and two months later acquired the *Indian Express* of Madras. In February 1934, he started the *Navashakti* as a Marathi daily from Bombay and, in September, a Tamil daily in Madras, the *Dinamani.* Sadanand had plans to start associated newspapers in Calcutta, Lucknow, Delhi and Lahore. He started the *Free India* in Calcutta but had to discontinue its publication after a few months, partly because he was unable to secure the continued support of his financiers and partly because of opposition from the influential rival news agency and from certain established newspapers who objected to a news agency entering into competition with its customers. The company sustained a severe blow when the Bombay Government forfeited securities deposited by the *Free Press Journal* to the tune of Rs. 20,000/-. The news agency closed down in the middle of 1935. The *Free Press Journal* and the *Free Press Bulletin* ceased publication in June 1935, but the former reappeared towards the end of 1937. Sadanand re-started his other papers as well. And today the papers are published by the Indian National Press (Bombay) Ltd. They are the *Free Press Journal* (morning), *Free Press Bulletin* (evening), the *Bharat Jyoti* (Sunday), all in English, and the *Navashakti* (Marathi morning daily) and the *Janashakti* (Gujerati morning daily). Sadanand had been in indifferent health for many years and he died in November 1953.

In Madras, the *Indian Express* and the *Dinamani* passed under the control of Sri Ramnath Goenka although the firm retained the name of Free Press of India (Madras) Ltd., till it went into liquidation in 1946 when its business was taken over by the Express Newspapers Ltd., with Sri Ramnath Goenka as the largest shareholder and Chairman of the Board of Directors. The Express Newspapers Ltd. now controls the following publications:—

Madras.

1. *Indian Express,* English daily.
2. *Dinamani,* Tamil daily, with an edition publishing from Madurai since 1951, and *Dinamani Kadir,* an illustrated Tamil Weekly (1949).
3. *Andhra Prabha,* a Telugu daily (1938) and *Andhra Prabha Weekly* started later.

Bombay.

1. *Indian Express,* English daily, published as the Bombay edition of the Madras paper of the same name. It was orginally

acquired in 1946 and published as *National Standard* till July 1953.

2. *Lokasatta,* Marathi daily (1948).
3. *Screen,* an English film weekly (1951) with a Hindi edition (1952).
4. *Sunday Standard,* an English weekly published in Bombay and Delhi.

Delhi.

1. *Indian Express,* an English daily, published earlier under the name of *Delhi Express* and *Indian News Chronicale.*
2. *Jansatta,* a Hindi daily (1952), which discontinued publication in 1954.

These publications owned by the Express Newspapers Ltd., are run under the direction of Sri Ramnath Goenka and represent the largest chain of newspapers in the country.

Reference has already been made to the *Times of India,* owned by Messrs Bennett Coleman and Co., Ltd., with British nationals as shareholders, until it was taken over in 1946 by Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia. Under the new ownership, the firm has expanded and extended its publication activities. Originally it owned the *Times of India* of Bombay, the *Illustrated Weekly* and the *Evenings News of India.* Since 1946, its activities have developed as follows:—

Bombay.

1. *Times of India,* English daily (1838).
2. *Illustrated Weekly* (English 1901).
3. *Navbharat Times,* Hindi daily (1950).
4. *Dharmyug,* Hindi illustrated weekly (1950).
5. *Evening News of India,* English daily (1923).
6. *Filmfare,* English fortnightly (1952).

Delhi.

1. *Times of India.*
2. *Navbharat Times.*

The firm acquired the *National Call* to which reference has already been made and published it for a time as the *News Chronicle* which it sold in 1949 and which is now being published as the Delhi edition of the Express newspapers. It also acquired the *Navbharat* which is now being published as *Navbharat Times.* It acquired the *Navyug,* an illustrated *Hindi* Weekly, at the same time but discontinued its publication in August 1951. It published the *Sunday News of India* for three years (1948-50) and published a weekly children's magazine, *Junior,* for a few months in 1949-50.

Calcutta.

1. *Times of India,* started in March 1953.
2. *Navbharat Times,* started in 1950.
3. *Satyayug,* a Bengali daily, started in 1949.

All the three publications ceased in September 1953, as their conduct involved the firm in heavy financial losses. The firm owns, perhaps, the most modern job press in India and, since March 1953, runs a news agency service of its own, having acquired exclusive rights for the *United Press of America's* foreign service in India.

Another form of combine is represented by the *Hindustan Times—Leader—Searchlight* held together by common or connected proprietorship. Each paper and its subsidiaries are owned by separate firms—The Hindustan Times Ltd., Newspapers Ltd., Allahabad, and Bihar Journals Ltd., Patna.

The Hindustan Times Ltd., Delhi, brings out the following publications from Delhi:—

1. *Hindustan Times* which also publishes local news supplements from Simla (1949) and Kanpur (1950) which are distributed free with the paper, in these areas.
2. *Hindustan Times Evening News,* a small evening daily, circulating in New Delhi (1944).
3. *Overseas Hindustan Times,* an English weekly, circulating abroad (1950).
4. *Hindustan,* a Hindi daily, established in 1936.
5. *Saptahik Hindustan,* an illustrated Hindi Weekly (1950).

The Newspapers Ltd., Allahabad publish:—

1. *The Leader,* an English daily (1909).
2. *Bharat,* a Hindi daily (1928).

The Bihar Journals Ltd. publish from Patna:—

1. *The Searchlight,* an English daily, started originally by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha in association with the Maharaja of Darbhanga (1918), and later taken over by the present proprietors.
2. *The Pradeep,* a Hindi daily (1947).

Yet another form of ownership of a number of papers publishing from more than one place is represented by the Amrita Bazar Patrika Ltd., which is owned by the lineal descendants of the founder of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika.* The papers published by this family are as follows:—

1. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika,* (Calcutta), an English daily, started in 1868 and published as a daily from 1891.
2. *Jugantar* (Calcutta), a Bengali daily, started by Jugantar Ltd. in 1937.
3. Allahabad edition of *Amrita Bazar Patrika* started in 1943.
4. *Amrita Patrika,* Hindi daily, published from Allahabad (1950).

A similar form of ownership in which the proprietor has remained undisturbed is controlled by the Ananda Bazar Patrika Ltd., which brings out the following papers:—

1. *The Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), a Bengali daily, established in 1922, enjoying the largest circulation of any single Indian language daily in the country.

2. *The Hindustan Standard,* an English daily, published from Calcutta (1937) and Delhi (1951).

3. *Desh,* a Bengali Weekly, published from Calcutta since **1933.**

It should be noted that the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* brought out its English counter-part as a retaliatory measure against the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which started the *Jugantar* as a Bengali daily in 1937.

A primarily Hindi combine, the *Vishwamitra,* published from Calcutta (1916), Bombay (1941), Patna, New Delhi and Kanpur is controlled and conducted by Sri Mulchand Aggarwal. Sri Aggarwal also owns the *Advance,* an English daily, published from Calcutta and Kanpur which has a limited circulation.

Other exclusively Indian language newspapers which are published from more than one centre are the *Pratap* (Urdu) owned by Mahashe Krishan and published from Jullundur and New Delhi, the *Milap,* owned by Milap Newspapers Co. from Jullundur, Hyderabad and New Delhi in Urdu and Jullundur and Hyderabad in Hindi, and the Saurashtra Trust which publishes the *Janmabhoomi* (Gujerati) and the *Lokamanya* (Marathi) from Bombay, the *Vir Bharat,* owned by the Vir Bharat Trust and published form Amritsar and Delhi in Urdu, the *Nav Prabhat* owned by the Hindustan Journals Ltd., and published from Indore, Ujjain, Bhopal and Lashkar in Hindi, and *Nav Bharat,* published from Nagpur, Jubbulpore, and Bhopal in Hindi (editor/proprietor Sri R. G. Maheshwari).

Besides the groups, chains and combines already mentioned, individual newspapers published in English bring out editions in one or more local languages. These are:—

1 *Associated Journals Ltd.*—

(*i*) *National Herald* . . .	Lucknow	. English.
(*ii*) *Navjiwan*	Lucknow	. Hindi.
(*iii*) *Qaumi Awaz*	Lucknow	. Urdu.

2. *Sri M. N. Cama*—

(*i*) *Bombay Chronicle* . . .	Bombay	. English.
(*ii*) *Bombay Sentinel* . . .	Bombay	. English (evening).
(*iii*) *Bombay Samachar* . . .	Bombay	. Gujerati.

3. *Pioneer Ltd.*

(*i*) *Pioneer*	Lucknow	. English.
(*ii*) *Swatantra Bharat* . .	Lucknow	. Hindi.

4. *Newspapers and Publications Ltd.*—

(*i*) *Indian Nation*	Patna	. English.
(*ii*) *Aryavarta*	Patna .	. Hindi.

5. *Printers Ltd.*—

(*i*) *Deccan Herald*	Bangalore	. English.
(*ii*) *Prajavani*	Bangalore	. Kannada.

There are newspapers which publish in one language only. These are the *Hindu* and the *Mail* of Madras, and the *Tribune* of the Punjab.

With small circulations but nevertheless papers of standing or the only papers publishing in English in the area are:—

1. *Hitavada* (Nagpur, 1911); Proprietors: Servants of India Society; Editor: Sri A. D. Mani, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

2. *Nagpur Times* (Nagpur, 1933); Proprietors: Nava Samaj Ltd., Editor: Sri W. G. Sheorey.

3. *Deccan Chronicle* (Secunderabad, 1938); Proprietors: Sri A. P. Nagaratnam and others; Editor: Sri K. R. Pattabhiram.

4. *Eastern Times* (Cuttack, 1949); Proprietors: Prajatantra Prachar Samiti; Editor: Sri B. C. Mahanty.

5. *Assam Tribune* (Gauhati); Proprietor: Sri R. G. Baruah.

The more prominent papers publishing in one language only may be listed language-wise as follows:

ASSAMESE:

1. *Nutan Assamiya* (Gauhati, 1950); Proprietor: Sri R. K. Bezboruah, Sri Boloma T. E., Sri P. O. Nahachari and others; Editor: Sri K. Hazarika.

Newspapers published in Assam are few and scattered and most of them are published weekly. Many have appeared and disappeared.

BENGALI;

Basumati (Calcutta, 1880); owned by the family of S. C. Mukherjee and edited by Sri U. N. Banerjee.

Lokasevak (Calcutta, 1948); Shramik Trust Society and edited by Sri J. K. Chakraborty.

Janasevak (Calcutta) owned by Sri Atulya Ghosh (West Bengal Congress Committee).

Swadhinatha (Calcutta) owned by Sri Jyoti Basu and others. (Organ of the Communist Party of India).

GUJERATI:

Sandesh and *Sevak* (Ahmedabad 1923 and 1941 respectively); Proprietor: N. C. Bodiwala and P. D. Brahmabhatt (editor of Sevak).

Gujarati Samachar and *Loknad*, (Ahmedabad); proprietors Lok Prakashan Ltd., (1932 and 1947).

Jai Hind (Rajkot, 1948), Editor: M. L. Shah.

Vandemataram (Bombay, 1941), Proprietor: family of late Samaldas Gandhi.

Lokasatta (Baroda), Proprietor: Sri Ramanlal Chhotalal Shah.

Jam-e-Jamshed (Bombay, 1832), Proprietor: J. B. Marzban and Co. Ltd.; Editor: Adi P. Marzban.

Nutan Saurashtra (Rajkot, 1927), Proprieor and Editor: J. R. Rawal.

Phulchhab (Rajkot), Owners: Jai Bharat Ltd., Editor: Nathalal Shah.

Gujarat Mitra and Gujarat Darpan (Ahmedabad), Proprietor: P. K. Reshamwala, Editor: P. U. Reshamwala.

Prabhat (Ahmedabad, 1939); Proprietors: New Era Publications Ltd., Editor: Kakalbhai Kothari.

Jaya Gujarat (Baroda, 1942), Proprietor and Editor: Jayant Kumar Yagnik.

Other papers with limited circulation are published in Gujerati from Baroda, Surat and Kutch. They are *Azad Kutch, Jay Kutch* and *Kutch Mitra* from Bhuj, *Gujarat, Pratap* and *Sami Sunj* from Surat and *Sayaji Vijay* and *Prakash* from Baroda.

HINDI:

Navarashtra (Patna, 1946), Proprietors: Navarashtra Publications, Chief editor: D. V. Shastri, Editor: Sumangal Prakash.

Jagran (1942), published from Kanpur, Indore, and Jhansi, Proprietor: Puran Chandra Gupta and Paripurananand Verma.

Pratap (Kanpur, 1913), Founder: Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Editor: S. C. Bhattacharya.

Rashtradoot (Jaipur); Proprietor: R. D. Joshi.

Aj (Banaras, 1920); Proprietors: Jnanamandal Ltd., Banaras, Editor: Baburao Vishnu Paradkar.

Amar Ujala (Agra, 1940); Proprietors: D. Aggarwal and others, Editor: G. C. Kela.

Indore Samachar (Indore, 1941); Proprietors: Sita Ram Ji Nanaria and others; Editor: Kamal Kant Modi.

Jai Hind (Jabalpur, 1946); Proprietors: Jai Hind Publishing Co.; Editor: K. P. Dikshit.

Lokamanya (Calcutta and Nagpur, 1930); Proprietor: Ramshankar Tripathi; Editor: Pandit Madanlal Chaturbedi.

Lokawani (Jaipur, 1943); Proprietors: Yugantar Prakashan Mandir Ltd. Editor: Jawaharlal Jain.

Mahakoshal (Raipur, 1935); Proprietor and Editor: Shyamcharan Shukla.

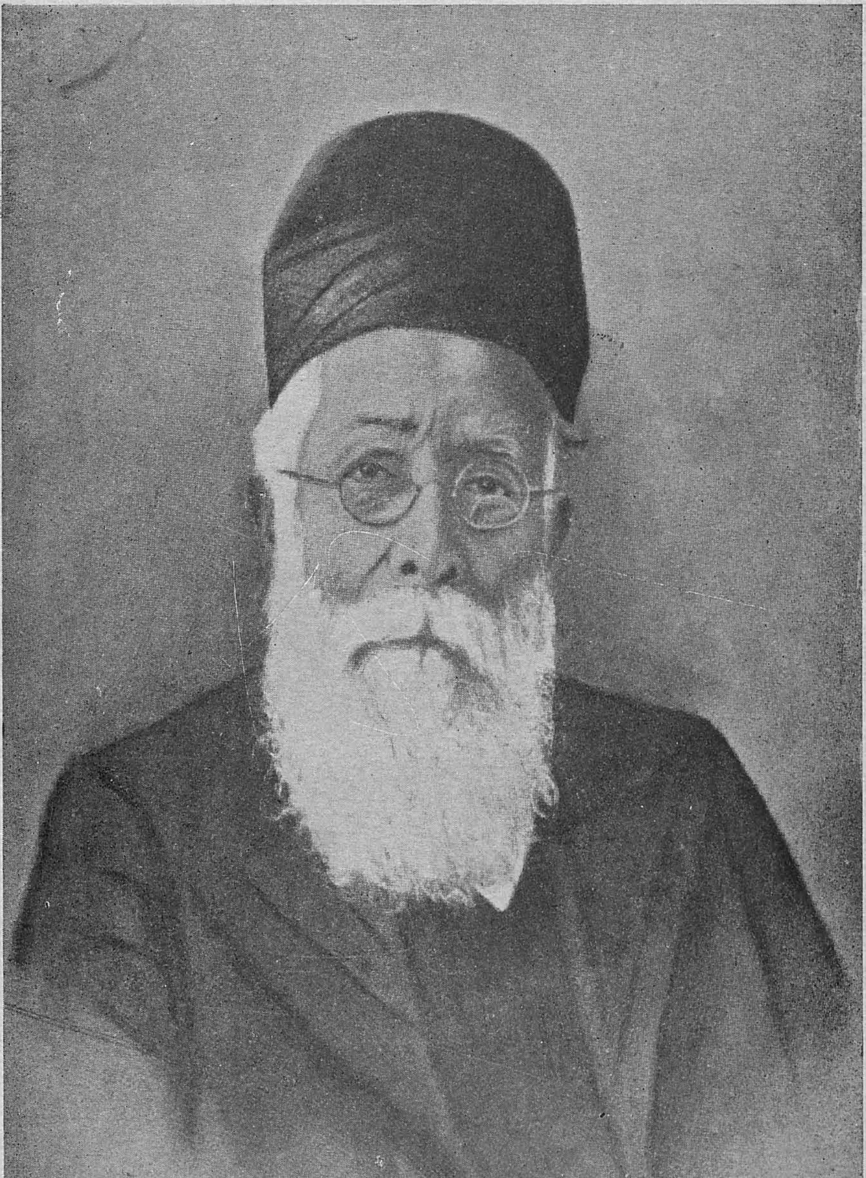
Navajyoti (Ajmer); Proprietor: Srimati Vimala Devi.

Rashtravani (Patna, 1941); Proprietors: Navashakti Publishing Co.; Editor: Professor J. P. Misra.

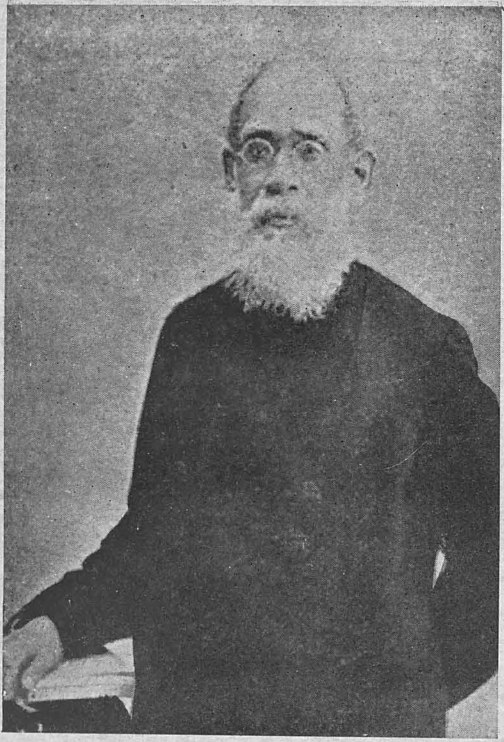
Sainik (Agra, 1925); Proprietors: Sainik Press; Editor: S. K. D. Paliwal.

Sanmarg (Banaras, 1946); published simultaneously from Banaras, Calcutta and Delhi; Proprietors: Dharma Sangh Shiksha Mandal (Trust); Editor: G. S. Misra.

It should not be assumed from the small list given above that Hindi Newspapers are either small in number or insignificant in the influence they exert. The leading Hindi papers are owned by combines such as the Vishwamitra group, controlled by M. C. Aggarwal, the Birla Group, the Dalmia Group, the Goenka Group, and the Hindustan Journals Ltd., which publishes the *Navaprabhat* from four centres (Indore, Ujjain, Bhopal and Lashkar). It is further necessary to note that leading Indian news-

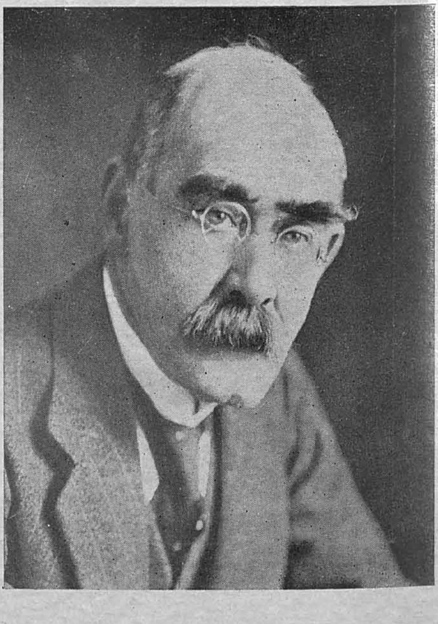


Dadabhai Naoroji



Surendranath Banerjea

Robert Knight



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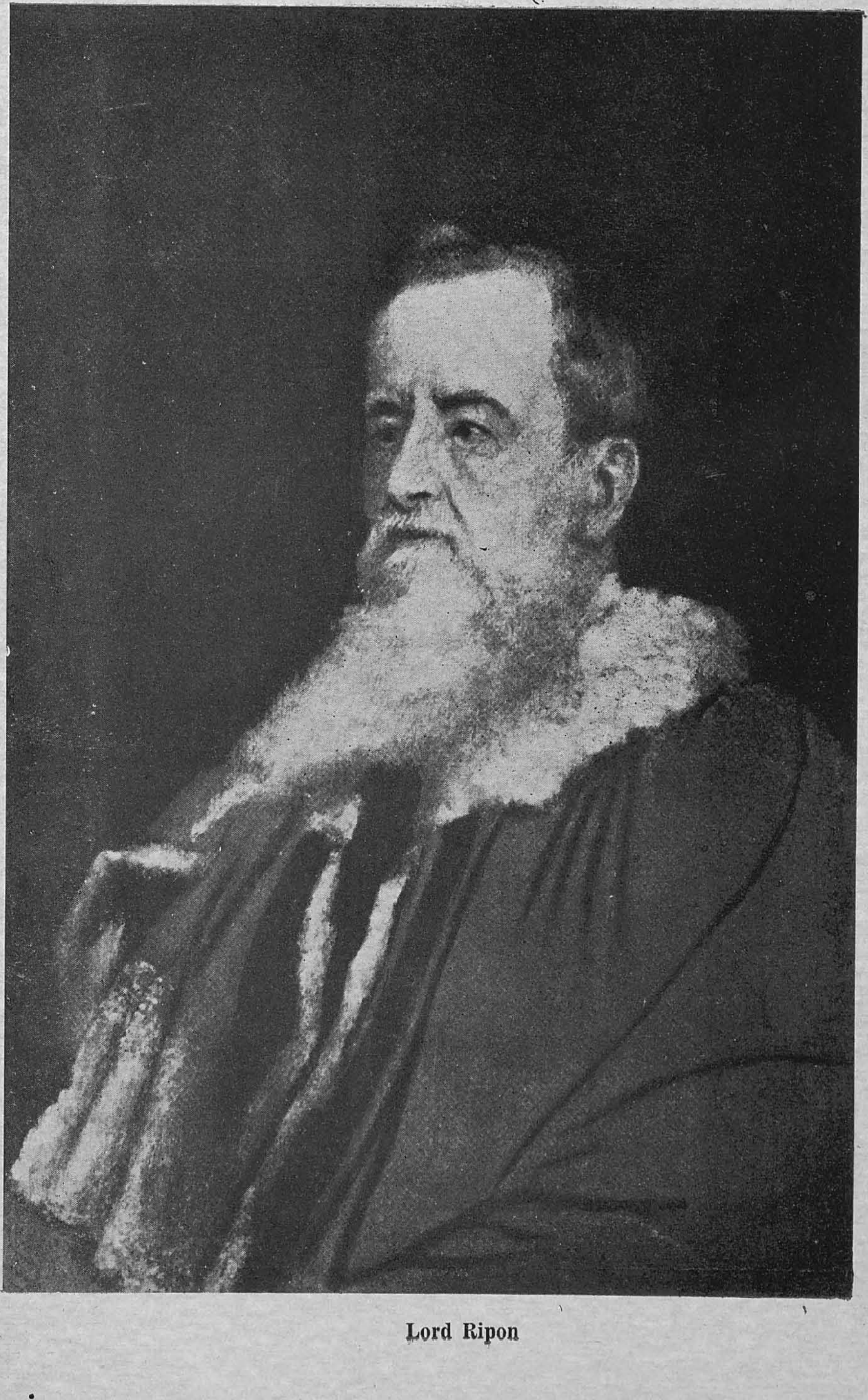
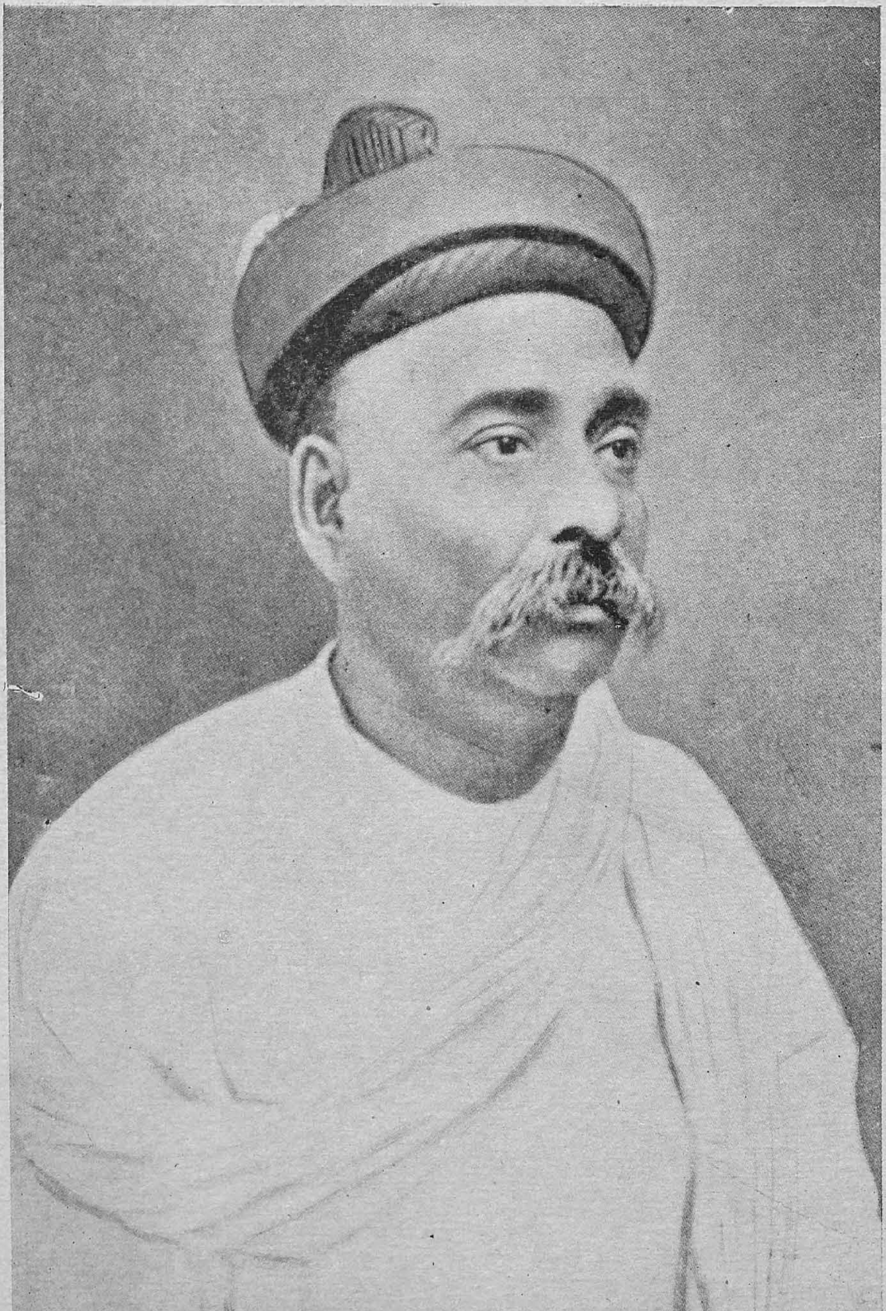


Lord Ripon



Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak

papers published in the English language also publish daily papers in Hindi. These are the main features of the Hindi press which in size and extent of circulation, content and standard of production, comes second only to the English language Press. There has been phenomenal development in the Hindi Press in the last six years.

There are some 30 other papers with limited influence and circulation publishing largely from Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Calcutta and Bombay which are not included in the above list.

KANARESE:

Samyukta Karnataka (Hubli) founded by Messrs. B. V. Belvi, Narayan Rao Joshi, B. N. Datar, (Deputy Minister for Home Affairs in the Government of India) and Mr. R. R. Diwakar, (Governor of Bihar), who in collaboration with Mr. H. R. Moharay, the present Managing Editor, founded the Lokashikshana Trust (1929) which now owns the paper. The paper was converted into a daily in 1933 and commands the highest circulation in the language.

*Prajavani** (Bangalore, 1948); Proprietors: Printers Ltd.; Editor: T. S. R. Rao.

Janavani (Bangalore, 1934); Proprietors: Mysore Press Ltd., Editor: G. S. N. Somayaji.

*Tainadu** (Bangalore, 1927); Proprietor: T. R. Ramaiyya, Editor: P. V. Srinivasan.

Navayug (Hubli, 1947); Editor and Proprietor: T. R. Neswi, M.L.A.

Mysore Patrika (Mysore) and *Mysore Prabhat* (Mysore); Editor and Proprietor: T. Narayanan.

Visvakarnataka (Bangalore, 1932); Proprietors: India Publications Ltd.; Editor: N. S. Venkoba Rao.

Visal Karnatak (Hubli, 1947); Proprietors: Karnatak Publicity Co., Editor: Patil Puttappa.

Mysore Prabha (Mysore); Proprietor: K. M. R. V. Sastri.

Navabharata (Bangalore); Editor and Proprietor: V. S. Kudwa.

It should be noted that most of the Kanarese daily newspapers are single publications, publishing only in one language, the exceptions being the *Tainadu* and the *Prajavani* which, however, were started simultaneously with their English counterparts. Some 15 other dailies of lesser importance are not included in the above list. Most of them are published from Mysore and Bangalore.

MALAYALAM:

Mathrubhumi (Calicut, 1923); Proprietors: Mathrubhumi Papers and Publications Ltd.; Editor: K. P. Kesava Menon. It is the leading paper in that language.

Chandrika (Kozhikode); Editor and Proprietor: Abu Baker.

NOTE.—**Prajavani* and *Tainadu* are associated publications of the *Deccan Herald* and *Daily News* respectively. (The *Daily News* is no longer current.)

Malayala Manorama (Kottayam, 18888); Proprietors: Malayala Manorama Co. Ltd., Editor: K. C. Mammen Mapillai.

Deepika (Kottayam, 1887); Proprietor: St. Joseph's Monastery, Editor: Fr. Romeo Thomas.

Kerala Kaumudi (Trivandrum, 1911); Proprietor and Editor: K. Sukumaran.

Malayala Rajyam (Quilon, 1929); Proprietor: N. S. Nair, Editor: K. C. Shankar.

Powradhwani (Kottayam, 1939); Proprietor: C. M. Karuvelithra, Editor: K. M. Chacko.

Express (Trichur); Proprietor and Editor: K. Krishnan.

Deshabhimani (Kozhikode); Proprietors: Communist Party of India.

Deshabandhu (Kottayam); Proprietors: Swaraj Industries Ltd.

Malabar Mail (Ernakulam, 1936); Proprietor: Archbishop of Ernakulam. Editor: Thomas Veluthedath.

Powrashakti (Kozhikode, 1944); Proprietors: United Printers Ltd. Editor: K. Abu Baker.

Powrakahalam (Trivandrum); Editor and Proprietor: K. M. Chacko.

Kerala Bhushanam (Kottayam, 1944); Editor and Proprietor: A. V. George.

Deenabandhu (Ernakulam, 1942); Proprietor and Editor: K. P. Madhavan Nair.

Deepam (Ernakulam, 1931); Proprietor and Editor: Thomas Cheryan.

Prabhatham (Quillon, 1934); Proprietor and Editor: Thangal Kunju Mudaliar.

Four other papers, the *Gomathi*, the *Malayali*, the *Navalokam* and the *Veerakesari*, complete the list of daily papers published in Malayalam.

MARATHI:

Sakal (1932); Proprietors: Sakal Papers Ltd. Editor: N. B. Parulekar.

Chitra (Bombay); Proprietor: Bharati Newspapers, C. V. Shah, Editor.

Navakal and *Sandya Kal* (Bombay); Proprietor: Y. K. Khadilkar and C. H. Khadilkar respectively. Editor: M. N. Ghate and C. H. Kelkar respectively. (Estd. 1922 and 1939).

Tarun Bharat (Nagpur, 1926); Proprietors: Narkesari Prakashan Ltd., Editor: G. T. Madholkar.

Gavakari (Nasik City); Editor and Proprietor: D. S. Potnis.

Daily Kal (Poona, 1939); Editor: S. R. Date.

Dainik Bharat (Poona, 1948); Editor: B. G. Banat. Proprietor: V. P. Geet.

Lokashakti (Poona, 1935); Proprietors: Rashtriaya Vichar Prasarak Mandal Ltd.; Editor: N. V. Limaye.

As in Hindi, some leading papers are published in Marathi by the larger combines. Outstanding among these are: *Lokasatta* (Express Newspapers group) and *Navashakti* Indian National Press (Bombay) Ltd., group.

There are some thirteen other daily newspapers published in Marathi from the Bombay Presidency and Madhya Pradesh.

Oriya:

Samaj (Cuttack, 1918); Proprietors: Servants of People Society. Editor: Radhanath Nath.

Prajatantra (Cuttack, 1930); Publishers: Prajatantra Praja Samiti. Editor: C. Paingratis.

Mathrubhoomi (Cuttack); Editor and Proprietor: Balkrishna Veer.

Owing to the general backwardness of the State and the low standard of literacy, newspapers in Orissa are few and underdeveloped.

PUNJABI:

Akali Patrika (Jullundur, 1920); Published from Amritsar and Jullundur, since partition. Proprietors: Sikh Newspapers Ltd. Editor: S. Shadi Singh.

Khalsa Sewak (Amritsar, 1924); Proprietors: G. Z. Singh and G. S. Musaffir. Editor: S. Karam Chand.

Parkash (Patiala, 1948); Editor and Proprietor: Sardar Gurdit Singh.

Ranjit (Patiala, 1946); Editor and Proprietor: H. S. Mehar Singh.

The *Desh Darpan,* established in 1930 in Calcutta and edited by Sardar Niranjan Singh Talib is still publishing and is regarded as a well-run paper.

A number of newspapers in Punjabi have come into existence since partition, particularly in the States forming the Patiala and the East Punjab States Union. Some of them have ceased publication after a brief existence while those continuing in publication have circulations ranging between 300 and 1,000. The leading papers advocating the Sikh cause are published in Urdu. They are: the *Ajit,* formerly owned by Sardar Baldev Singh and Gyani Kartar Singh but now owned by Sardar Bachan Singh Bala, and *Prabhat,* owned by Master Tara Singh who acquired control of the paper about 18 months ago.

Of the other papers published in Punjabi, the prominent ones are Master Tara Singh's *Akali* from Jullundur and Sardar Gurbax Singh Narang's *Sikh* published from Chherhatta, Amritsar.

SINDHI:

Hindustan (Bombay, 1916); Proprietors: Bombay Printers Ltd., Editor: Hiranand Karamchand. First established in Karachi in 1916, the paper moved to Bombay in 1948 and was issued as a daily in the following year.

Hindu Daily (Ajmer, 1948); Proprietor and Editor: Tilok Chand Gopal Dass.

Since partition, Sindhi papers are being published from India as the Sindhi-speaking population is scattered in the important business centres of India. Newspapers published in Sindhi command a local circulation.

TAMIL:

Swadesamitran (Madras, 1882); Proprietor and Editor: C. R. Srinivasan.

Thanthi (Madras, 1942); published from Madura and Madras. Proprietor and Editor: S. B. Adityan.

Nava India (Coimbatore, 1948); Proprietors: Ramakrishna Industries Ltd., Managing Editor: P. R. Ramakrishnan; Editor: V. N. Ramaswamy.

Viduthalai (Madras, 1935); Proprietors: The Periyar Self-respect Propaganda Institute; Editor: Srimati K. A. Mani Ammaiar.

Bharat Devi (Madras, 1940); Proprietors: Free Press Journals Ltd. (distinct from the publishers of the same name in Bombay), Editor: S. V. Swamy.

The papers listed above taken with the *Dinamani* published by Express Newspapers Ltd., command over 90 per cent. of the total circulation in the language.

TELUGU:

Andhra Patrika (Madras, 1908); Proprietor: S. K. Ramayamma Editor: S. Sambhu Prasad. The oldest established paper in the language.

Golkonda Patrika (Hyderabad, 1925); Proprietors: Golkonda Publications Ltd., Edited by Narottam N. Reddi.

Visala Andhra, recently started from Vijayawada and owned by the Communist Party.

Taken with the *Andhra Prabha* (Express Newspapers Ltd.) which commands the largest circulation in the language, the above newspapers practically monopolise readership in the language. There is scope for the development of journalism in Telugu and for the establishment of more newspapers.

URDU:

Pratap (1919); First published from Lahore and since 1947 published from Delhi and Jullundur. Proprietors: Mahashe Krishan and others; Editor: K. Narendra.

Milap (1925); published originally from Lahore and since 1947 from Delhi, Jullundur and Hyderabad. Proprietors: Milap Newspaper Co., Editor: Gauri Shankar Sagar.

Veer Bharat (1928); started at Lahore and published from Amritsar and Delhi since 1947; Proprietors: Veer Bharat Trust; Editor: Pritam Ziai.

Tej (Delhi, 1923); Proprietors: Daily Tej Ltd., Editor: Jamnadas Akhtar.

Hind Samachar (Jullundur, 1948); Proprietors: Hind Samachar Ltd., Editor: J. N. Chopra.

Sathi (Patna); Proprietor: Ghulam Sarwar. Editor: Wilayat Ali Islahi.

Asre-Jadid (Calcutta, 1919); Proprietor: Janab Shaikh Mohammed Jan: Editor: A. K. Siddiqi.

Al Jamiat (Delhi, 1925); Organ of the Jamiat-Ul-Ulema-i-Hind; Editor: Maulana Mohammed Usman Farqaleet.

Vande Mataram (Urdu-Hindustani); Established in 1920 by the late Lala Lajpat Rai and edited by Sardar Mohan Singh Sahni from Delhi (Irregular publication).

Hindustan (Bombay, 1939); Proprietor: Ghulam Ahmed Khan; Editor: Raza Said.

Inquilab-e-Jadid (Bombay, 1939); Proprietor and Editor: Abdul Hameed Ansari.

Mussalman (Madras); Proprietors: Syed Azmakella Sahib and Co.

Ajit (Jullundur); Proprietor: Bachan Singh Bala, Rupar.

Al-Haq (Calcutta); Proprietor: Syed Malzuddin, Calcutta.

Azad (Bangalore); Proprietor: Mohd. Abdul Bari, Bangalore.

Azad Hind (Calcutta); Ahmed Sayed Malihabadi, Calcutta.

Hamara Eqdam (Hyderabad); Proprietor: Abid Zanul Abdeen, Hyderabad.

Nai Duniya (Delhi); Proprietor: Maulana Abdul Wahid Siddiqui, Delhi.

Naya Zamana (Jullundur); Proprietors: People's Progressive Publications Ltd., Jullundur.

Nizam Gazette (Hyderabad); Syed Waker Ahmed (Publisher).

Pasban (Bangalore); Proprietor: H. M. Ismail Tabish.

Prabhat (Jullundur); Proprietor: Master Tara Singh, Amritsar.

Rahnuma-e-Deccan (Hyderabad); Proprietors: Mrs. Rahmerunnisa and others, Hyderabad.

Rozana Hind (Calcutta); Proprietors: Hind Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., Calcutta.

Sada-e-Aam (Patna); Proprietor: Syed Nazir Haider, Patna.

Sadaqat (Ludhiana); Proprietor: Nand Singh Jandu, Ludhiana.

Saltanat (Hyderabad); Proprietor: Syed Saadullah Qaduri, Hyderabad.

Siasat (Hyderabad); Proprietor: Abid Ali Khan, Hyderabad.

There is a large number (50) of Urdu papers with small circulations scattered throughout the country. The technique of newspaper production in Urdu is such that it is easy to start a newspaper but difficult to attain speed in production.

Tri-weeklies

The only tri-weekly of any importance is the *Kesari* of Poona founded by Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Bi-weeklies

Of the bi-weeklies, most of them published in the Indian languages, a few are given below:—

Name	*Language*	*Place*	*Proprietor*
Ananda Bazar Patrika	Bengali	Calcutta	Ananda Bazar Patrika Ltd.
Paigam	Bengali	Calcutta	Mohd. Khairul Anam Khan.
Koogu	Kannada	Bangalore	E. A. Pushpam.
Praja	Kannada	Hyderabad	R. S. Jagirdar, Abid Road.
Sandesh	Kannada	Belgaum	G. A. Deshpande.
Marathawada	Marathi	Hyderabad	Anand Krishna Waghmare
Sanitra	Marathi	Thana	Sakharam Pandurang Joshi.
Udaya	Marathi	Amravati	N. R. Bamangaonkar.
Madina	Urdu	Bijnore	Maulvi Majid Hassan.

Weekly Journalism

Considerable advance has been made in the sphere of weekly journalism in all the languages and particularly in the regional languages. Developments vary, however, from language to language according to local circumstances. In Assamese and in Oriya, for example, the weeklies are small in number and poor in quality. In Bengali, Gujerati, Hindi, Malayalam, Marathi and Tamil, circulation is concentrated in the languages in well-produced journals. The weeklies produced in these languages are of high standard and employ modern methods of production and distribution. Weeklies published in the Punjabi language, however, suffer from lack of development in methods of production.

Pictorial weeklies are in demand in all the languages and there is still scope for further development. Serious political weeklies are at a discount and those published in English in particular, have gone out of existence and those now published have limited circulation.

ASSAMESE:

Weekly journals in Assamese have fared no better than their daily counterpart. There are four newspapers with circulations above 2,000. Of the remaining nine, the majority seem to be irregular in publication. The leading weeklies may be listed as follows:—

Name	*Place*	*Proprietor*
Assam Sevak	Tezpur	Bijoy Chandra Bhagabati, M.L.A.
*Assamiya**	Gauhati	Assam Printers and Publishers Ltd.
Janambhumi	Jorhat	Debeswar Sharma and K. Sharma.
Santi Doot	Gauhati	Rajan Dutta.

Published in the Surma Valley but in Bengali, are:—

Name	*Place*	*Proprietor*
Jugsakti	Karimganj	Bidhu Bhushav Chaudhri.
Surma	Silchar	Satindra Mohan Dev.

BENGALI:

Eleven papers hold the lead in a list of some 100 weeklies published in the Bengali language. Of the 11 papers that lead are four which are weekly editions of daily papers:—

Name	*Place*	*Proprietor*
Basumati	Calcutta	The Chairman, Executors to the Estate of late Sri Satish Chander Mookherjee.
Desh	Calcutta	Ananda Bazar Patrika Ltd., Calcutta.
Garer Math	Calcutta	Srimati Shova Rani Guha.
Matamat	Calcutta	Bimal Ghosh.
Mohammadi	Calcutta	Mohd. Khairul Anam Khan.
Nabyug	Calcutta	Alauddin Khan (Publisher).
Sachitra Bharat	Calcutta	Mrs. Manorama Mukherji.
Swadesh	Calcutta	Krishnendu Narayan Bhowmik.
Vagna Doot	Calcutta	Sisir Basu (Editor).

* Oldest weekly published in Assamese.

ENGLISH:

The weeklies published in English cover a wide range of subjects including the general news and views weekly and the specialised political, social, economic, religious and law journals. They number in all about 140 for the whole of India, of which a few are listed below on the basis of their standing and influence:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Allahabad Law Journal	Allahabad	Allahabad Law Journal Co., Ltd.
Bharat Jyoti	Bombay	Indian National Press, Ltd.
Bihar Herald	Patna	I. N. Ghosh.
Blitz	Bombay	Blitz Publications Ltd.
Calcutta Municipal Gazette	Calcutta	Calcutta Corporation.
Capital	Calcutta	Capital Ltd.
Citizen	Secunderabad	S. Krishna Rao.
Commerce	Bombay	Commerce (1935) Ltd.
Commerce and Industry	Delhi	Dr. Lanka Sundaram.
Current	Bombay	Current Publications Ltd.
Democratic Review	Shillong	Probin K. Chaudhuri.
Eastern Economist	New Delhi	The Eastern Economist Ltd.
Economic Weekly	Bombay	D. K. Parkar and others.
Epiphany	Calcutta	Oxford Mission Brotherhood.
Eve's Weekly	Bombay	Eve's Weekly Ltd.
Examiner	Bombay	His Grace the Archbishop of Bombay.
Free India	Madras	Free India Ltd.
Harijan	Ahmedabad	Navjivan Trust.
Herald	Calcutta	Associated Catholic Newspapers.
Illustrated Weely of India	Bombay	Bennett Coleman and Co., Ltd.
Income Tax Report	Madras	T. A. Rajagopal and others.
Indian Finance	Calcutta	Indian Finance Ltd.
Indian Investor	Bombay	K. C. Lalwaney.
Indian Witness	Lucknow	E. M. Moffatt.
Ismaili	Bombay	Ismailia Association for Bharat
Kaiser-i-Hind	Bombay	J. E. Heergibehedin and others
Kerala Law Times	Ernakulam	Kerala Law Times.
Law Weekly	Madras	V. C. Vasudevan.
Madras Law Journal	Madras	N. Ramaratnam.
Madras Weekly Notes	Kumbakonam	N. T. Raghunathan and others.
Mahratta	Poona	Kesari and Mahratta Trust.
Malabar Heerald	Fort Cochin	Ittoop Mainpilli.
Movie Times	Bombay	Daulatram.
Mysindia	Bangalore	D. N. Hosali (Editor).
New Leader	Madras	The Most Rev. Dr. Louis Mathias.
Organiser	Delhi	Bharat Prakashan Ltd.
Screen	Bombay	Express Newspapers Ltd.
Sentinel	Ranchi	Sayed Aftab Ahmed Asiana.

Name	Place	Proprietor
Shanker's Weekly	Delhi	K. Shankar Pillai.
Shillong Times	Shillong	S. B. Chaudhuri.
Spark	Patna	Bharatiya Publishers Ltd.
Spokesman	New Delhi	Hukum Singh, M. P.
Sport Light	Calcutta	M/s Mackenzie Lyall and Co.
Sports and Pastime	Madras	Kasturi and Sons Ltd.
Sunday Standard	Bombay	Express Newspapers Ltd.
Sunday Times	Madras	Sunday Times Ltd.
Swantantra	Madras	K. Subha Rao.
Thought	Delhi	Siddhartha Publications Ltd.
Vigil	New Delhi	Vigil Publishers Ltd.
Wednesday Review	Tiruchirapalli	R. Ranghanatha Rao (Editor).
Whip	Calcutta	Sri Srinivasa Sarma.
Yog Vedanta	Rishikesh	Divine Life Society.

GUJERATI:

About a third of the 90 Gujerati weeklies are of sufficient importance to be listed below. The majority of them are concentrated in Bombay and Ahmedabad but a good number are to be found in the smaller district towns:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Aram	Ahmedabad	The Sandesh Ltd.
Bal Sandesh	Ahmedabad	The Sandesh Ltd.
Begum	Bombay	Seamir Publications.
Chet Machhandar	Bombay	Keshavlal D. Dwivedy Shani.
Chhaya Sandesh	Ahmedabad	Sandesh Ltd.
Chitralekha	Bombay	Vajukotak.
Chitra Lok	Ahmedabad	Lok Prakashan Ltd.
Chitrapat	Bombay	Smt. Rukmaniben Naginlal Shah.
Gujerat Times	Nadiad	Maneklal H. Shah.
Harifai	Bombay	Saurashtra Trust.
Harijan Bandhu	Ahmedabad	Navajivan Trust.
Ismaili	Bombay	Ismailia Association for Bharat.
Jain	Bhavnagar	Gulab Chand Dev Chand Sheth.
Jai Saurashtra	Rajkot	Gunvantrai Lalji Ganatra.
Janmabhumi Pravasi	Bombay	Saurashtra Trust.
Jaya Bharat	Bombay	K. K. Chitalia.
Kaira Vartaman	Kaira	Babubhai Manilal Sheth.
Kathiawar Times	Rajkot	A. T. Wazirani.
Lokamat	Nadiad	Lokmat Prakashan Ltd.
Makkam	Ahmedabad	Manoharlal Maganlal Kadakia
Muslim Gujrat	Surat	Azimuddin F. Saiyed.

Name	Place	Proprietor
Ravivar	Bombay	Pandya Shukla and Co.
Samaya	Surendranagar	Girdharilal N. Shah and others.
Varta	Bombay	M. L. Desai.
Vatan	Bombay	Seamir Publications.
Veni	Bombay	Badri S. Kachhwala.
Zag Mag	Ahmadabad	Lok Prakashan Ltd.

HINDI:

The total number of Hindi weeklies is the largest in any Indian language. They share with Urdu papers the characteristic of being spread out over the whole country. Publications in small towns and areas in which Hindi is not spoken explain the limited influence of the majority of them and the brief list which follows:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Agradoot	Raipur	K. P. Sinha.
Amar	Delhi	Amar Co.
Azad	Ajmer	Ghisoo Lal Pandya.
Bibaran Patrika	Calcutta	Sankata Prasad Misra (Publisher).
Dehat	Muzaffarnagar	Raj Roop Singh.
Dharamyug	Bombay	Bennett Coleman and Co. Ltd.
Harijan Sewak	Ahmedabad	Navjiwan Trust.
Hindi Swarajya	Khandwa	Y. S. Agarkar.
Hindu Weekly	Hardwar	Thakur Harish Chandra.
Hindu Weekly	New Delhi	Hindu Charitable Trust.
Saptahik Hindustan	New Delhi	Hindustan Times Ltd.
Janata	Patna	Gopi Krishna Pandit and others.
Jugantar	Jharia	Mukutdhari Singh.
Jwala	Jodhpur	Bansidhar Purohat.
Jyoti Kiran	Jabalpur	Miss A. B. Munns.
Lokmat	Bikaner	Ambalal Mathur.
Narad	Chapra	Kausal Kishore Varma.
Navashakti	Patna	Navashakti Publishing Co. Ltd.
Naya Khoon	Nagpur	Krishna Nand Sokhta.
Naya Sansar	Muzaffarnagar	Vaidhyaraj Shital Prasad Jain.
Nayee Disha	Purnea	Hariballav Singh.
Panchmukh	Basti	Ram Shankar Lal.
Prabhat	Lashkar	Hindustan Journals Ltd., Gwalior.
Praja Sewak	Jodhpur	Achleshwan Prashad (Publisher).
Rashtra Sandesh	Lucknow	Avdesh Awashthi.
Sanjivan	Patna	Rev. J. Bennet, S. J.
Sanskritam	Ayodhia	Kali Prasad.
Sri Venkateshwar Samachar	Bombay	Messrs. Khemraj Shrikishana Das etc.
Vilap	Pathankot	D. C. Dewan.
Yogi	Patna	Rajendra Sharma.

KANARESE:

Kanarese weeklies total about sixty in all. The newspapers published in this languages suffer from the disadvantages of poor communications and the language area being divided among four States. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the weeklies published in this language hold between them the bulk of the total circulation. They are given below:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Aruna	Mangalore	U. N. Srinivasa Bhat.
Chitragupta	Bangalore	P. R. Ramaiya.
Jai Hind	Hubli	Hind Seva Trust.
Janapragathi	Bangalore	N. S. Seetharama Sastri (Publisher).
Janasakthi	Bangalore	M. C. Narasinham.
Jayakarnataka	Dharwar	V. S. Bassawanal.
Kannara News (*Kannada Vritta*)	Khumta	Pandurang Krishna Shanbhag.
Kannadiga	Hubli	H. A. Medi, Hubli.
Kannadi Nudi	Bangalore	Sahitya Parishad (Publisher).
Kanteerava	Mangalore	M. Baburaya Prabhu.
Karmaveer	Hubli	Lokashikshan Trust.
Karmayogi	Bangalore	M. G. Kunnal.
Karnatak Bandhu	Gadag	G. V. Hiremath.
Karnatak Vaibhav	Bijapur	H. R. Moharay.
Kidi	Bangalore	P. Seshappa.
Navayuga	Udipi	K. Honnayya Shetty.
Powravani	Bangalore	H. S. Doraiswamy (Editor).
Prajamata	Bangalore	Mysore Press Ltd.
Praja	Hyderabad	R. G. Jagirdar.
Sadhana	Lingampally (Hyderabad)	J. K. Praneshacharya.
Sangathi	Mangalore	M. Navin Chander Pal.
Sanjaya	Devangere City	K. Shama Rao.
Sarvodaya	Mangalore	Sarvodaya Ltd. Mangalore.
Shakti	Devangere City	N. B. Gurudeva and I. Shansmukhuppa.
Vikrama	Bangalore	B. S. N. Mellya.

MALAYALAM:

Malayalam weeklies are the smallest in number as compared with those published in other important Indian languages. The circulation average is higher in this language than in the others and some 16 of a total of 37 are listed below:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Dakshina Bharati	Trivandrum	B. Narayana Pillai.
Deepika Illustrated Weekly	Kottayam.	V. Rev. Fr. Prior, St. Joseph's Monastry, Maunaman.
Desamitran	Cannanore	Desamitran Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.

Name	Place	Proprietor
Janasakthi	Fort Cochin	P. K. Kannan.
Jayakeralam	Madras	Janatha Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.
Kaumudi	Trivandrum	K. Balakrishnan.
Labour	Pattanakad	R. Anthony.
Nava Sakthi	Balaramapuram	G. Raman Pillai.
Navayugam	Trichur	K. Damodran.
Neethiman	Muvattupuzha	K. Kunjunni Pillai.
Sahakaranayugam	Trivandrum	Travancore Co-operative Institute Ltd.
Sakhav	Allepey	G. Gopinathan Nair.
Thozhilali	Trichur	V. Rev. Fr. Zacharia Vazhpilly.
Vikasam	Cannanore	K. Govindan.
Yuva Keralam	Cochin	C. K. Abubacker.

MARATHI :

Name	Place	Proprietor
Bal Sandesh	Ahmedabad	Sandesh Ltd.
Balwant	Ratnagiri	G. V. Patwardhan.
Batmidar	Jalgaon	Vithal Chavadas Nehete.
Belgaum Samachar	Belgaum	M. R. Sampat.
Chhaya Weekly	Poona	Vishnu Vishnunath Bapat.
Dhanurdharai	Bombay	K. N. Sapale.
Deenbandhu	Poona	Dr. V. N. Nawle, J. V. Nawle and P. V. Nawle.
Janata	Bombay	Bharat Bhushan Printing Press.
Jwala	Ahmednagar	Gopal Sadashiv Kana.
Kiran	Amravati	V. R. Hambarde (Publisher).
Koden Labh	Bombay	K. L. Kelshikar and Mrs. R. V. Kelshikar.
Mouj Weekly	Bombay	Mouj Prakashan Ltd.
Navayug	Bombay	P. K. Atre and Venmala Devi Pawar.
Nave Jag	Yeotmal	Jawahar Lal Dard (Publisher).
Pragati	Bombay	B. M. Gandole.
Pragati and Jinvijaya	Belgaum	Dakshin Maharashtra Jain Sabha Sangh.
Prakash	Ichalkaranji	B. B. Khankive.
Sadhana	Bombay	Sadhana Trust.
Shikshan Patrika	Nagpur	J. P. Khiledar.
Samajsatta	Ratnagiri	District Socialist Party.
Sandesh	Ahmednagar	D. R. Nisal.
Swaraj	Bombay and Poona	Bombay Papers Ltd.
Taraka	Bombay	R. A. Moramkar and J. R. Tatnis.
Veni	Bombay	Badrudin Samsudin Kachwala.
Vivek	Bombay	K. G. Kale and P. S. Abhyankar.
Vividh Virtta	Bombay	R. A. Moramkar and J. K. Tatnis.
Yug Sandesh	Dhullia	V. V. Nene.

PUNJABI:

Punjabi has a large number of weeklies in irregular publication with a high percentage of casualties. Circulations are small, limited in most cases to the town of publication. Lack of public patronage and under-developed printing methods preclude the building up of a large circulation adequate to support a well-produced paper. Many papers have been started in Punjab, but the high casualty rate is responsible for the small number of current weekiles of which nine are listed below:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Asha	Jullundur	Harkishan Singh
Fateh	Delhi	Mohinder Singh
Khalsa Gazette	Calcutta	Raghbir Singh Bir and S. N. Singh Talil
Khalsa Samachar	Amritsar	Dr. Vir Singh, M.L.C.
Lok Raj	Patiala	Giani Bhag Singh
Lok Yug	Jullundur	Harbans Singh Parwana
Punjabi Punch	Chheharta (Amritsar)	Gurbux Singh Narang
Ramgarhia Gazette	Simla	Batan Singh
Sukhjiwan	Moga	Giani Atma Singh

TAMIL:

The bulk of Tamil weekly readership is shared among a few papers which have attained high standards of production both in content and presentation. Some of the best journals in the Indian languages are published in Tamil. There are, however, a large number of small papers which bring the total up to 81 of which a list of 29 is given below:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Ananda Vikatan	Madras	Vasan Publications Ltd.
Congress	Madurai	M. K. Ramamurthy
Dinamani Kadir	Madras	Express Newspapers Ltd.
Dravida Nadu	Kancheepuram	C. N. Annadorai
Gandhi Nadu	Coimbatore	K. P. Thiruvenkadam
Gandhiyam	Coimbatore	R. Kuppuswamy
Imayam	Madras	S. S. Mariswamy
Jai Hind	Madras	R. Parthasarthy
Janamani	Madras	V. P. Gopalakrishnan
Janasakti	Madras	Communist Party of India Tamil Nad Provincial Committee
Janatha	Madras	Socialist Party of Tamil Nad
Kalkandu	Madras	S. A. P. Annamalai
Kalki	Madras	Bharathan Publications Ltd.
Komali	Madras	T. Thirunavakkarasu
Meetchi	Madras	K. B. V. I. Soorma and K. B. Mohd. Ibrahim
Naradar	Madras	T. S. Srinivasan
Noor-u-Islam	Madras	Hafiz A. N. Mohd. Yusuf Baquavi
Oorimai	Madras	A. Ratnam

Name	Place	Proprietor
Potti Nibunan	Madurai	C. T. A. S. Alagappan
Podu Arivu	Dharmapuri	S. Nagaraja Mamiagar
Pormurasu	Tiruchirapalli	P. R. Ramaswami
Rasikan	Madras	T. V. Ramanath
Sengol	Madras	A. K. Venkataramanujam
Sirpi	Coimbatore	M. Velayudaswamy
Stage and Screen	Madras	M. S. Basu.
Swadesamitran	Madras	Swadesamitran Ltd.
Theeppori	Tiruchirapalli	C. P. Chinnaraj
Thirunadu	Madurai	K. Shivanandy
Unarchi	Erode	N. Nachimuthu

TELUGU :

Weekly journalism in Telugu has room for expansion. The 74 papers now being published have nearly all of them limited local circulations and even the 11 listed below are of varying influence and stability:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Congress	Madras	V. Rangayya (Ed.)
Desa Seva	Vijayawada	B. Ramalingam
Jai Bharat	Madras	K. Appa Rao
Jayavani	Madras	T. Dharma Rao Naidu
Krishna Patrica	Masulipatam	Smt. Suseela Devi
Mulukola	Vijayawada	Bandi Buchiah
Rayalasema	Tirupathi	K. Narasayye
Swatantravani	Madras	Kasi Bhatla Venkteswarulu (Publisher)
Telugu Cinema	Madras	C. Venkataramiah and C Sambasiva
Telugu Swatantra	Madras	Khasa Subba Rao

URDU:

Weeklies in Urdu are the second largest in number published in any one Indian language. Production methods are backward and available finances are poor. Papers are easily started but printing methods do not allow of large circulations being built up. The encouragement of Urdu at the cost of Hindi and of other Indian languages in the past has brought an opposite reaction in the wake of freedom and the partition. Of 173 weeklies now in regular or irregular publication, only 14 are of moderate standing and the next fifteen have each a circulation of above 1,000 and below 1,500. The first 14 are given below:—

Name	Place	Propritor
Alfarooq	Lucknow	M. Manzoor Nawani
Bebak	Saharanpur	Mohammad Zakariya Asadi
Chitra Weekly	Delhi	V. P. Puri
Hindu Weekly	New Delhi and Jullundur.	Hindu Charitable Trust

Name	Place	Proprietor
Hurriyat	Delhi	Syed Azid Hasan Baqai
Insaf (Weekly edition of Al-Haq)	Calcutta	Syed Maizuddin (Publisher)
Kahekashan	Bombay	Mohd. Na zir Ansari
Madina	Bijnore	Mulvi Majeed Hassan
Manzil	Ludhiana	Vas Dev Duggal.
Panth	Delhi	Harbans Singh Sodhi
Qaum	Bangalore	M. Abdul Zaher
Reformer	Delhi	S. L. Vidyarthi
Sewak	Kapurthala	S. Mohinder Singh
Ujala	Jullundur	K. R. Madhas

ORIYA :

Oriya weeklies are small in number and poor in quality partly due to typographical handicaps and inadequate financial resources. Sixteen serve the entire population of which the leading seven are given below:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Asha	Berhampur	Sarat Chandra Mahapatra
Cuttack Bulletin	Cuttack	Rabindra Nath Sinha
Ganatantra	Cuttack	Ganatantra Parishad
Krushak	Cuttack	Pradip Kishore Das
Mathrubhoomi	Cuttack	R. C. Kar
Nua Dunia	Cuttack	Shm. Labanya Devi
The Taruna	Berhampur	Poornachandra Misra

Fortnightlies

Fortnightlies are largely published by educational institutions, religious bodies, State Governments and business houses. A few of the prominent journals are given below:—

Name	Place	Proprietor
Bengali :—		
Hindu Bani	Bankura	Bankura Hindu Mahasabha
Janashiksha	Patna	A. K. Ghosh
Madinapore Patrika	Calcutta	Salyendra Nath Bose
Vishva Bharati Patrika	Calcutta	Vishva Bharati
English—		
All India Weekly	Bombay	Mrs. Sharda V. Rao
Bombay Law Reporter	Bombay	Ratanlal and Dhiraj Lal
Eastern Tidings	Poona	Sachin Choudhari
Illustrated News	Calcutta	Berry Sarbhadhikari
Malive Magazine	Bombay	C. Jammudar & Co
My Magazine of India	Madras	P. R. Vinayam
New Leader	Bombay	Ratilal Vraje lal Shah
St. Philomena's Messenger	Bangalore	V. Rev. Fr. A. J. Noronaha

Name	Place	Proprietor
Gujarati :—		
Awai Laxmi	Surat	
Gandhidhan Patrika	Adipur	S. R. C. Ltd.
Lok Jivan	Ahmedabad	Navjivan Trust
Mahila Jagat	Ahmedabad	Mahila Jagat Karyalaya
Nar-Nari	Bombay	Jathalal G. Semaina
Prathmik Shikshak	Ahmedabad	T. K. Thakore
Purak Harijai	Bhaonagar	J. M. Ahsar
Saurashtra	Rajkot	Rasiklal B. Shukla
Hindi :—		
Rattan	Bombay	V. N. Issar
Rabbar	Bombay	Shrimati Kulsum Kayani
Kannada—		
Jyoti	Mangalore	B. S. Bhaskar Rai
Savadhan	Gadag (Bombay)	...
Malayalam:—		
Aimanar.	Kozhikode	The Almanar Committee
Prabodhanam	Valancherry	V. P. Mohd Ali
Marathi:—		
Balshikshan	Nagpur	Sh. Deakabai Maratkar
Nirnaya	Bombay	..
Shabdokoot Shallagar	Bombay.	V. R. Prabhu
Shar Sandhan	Bombay.	G. V. Joshi
Oriya :—		
Spastabedi	Cuttack	T. Mahanty
Tamil :—		
Ponni	Madras	Ponni Ltd.
Prachanda Vikatan	Madras	N. Muniswamy Mudaliar
Sirukathai	Madras	K. Subramaniam
Tanjai Mani	Kumbakonam	S. Ganapathy
Thozilarasu	Tiruchi	S. Manichavasagam
Thai Nadu	Madurai	M. D. Joshi
Tamiyan Koral	Bangalore	G. Shivaprakasham
Vakkalan	Coimbatore	P. C. Subramani
Telugu :—		
Chitragupta	Madras	N. Muniswamy Mudaliar
Chitra Lokam	Madras	P. Poundrangam
Konangi	Madras	S. G. Acharya
Telugu Jai Bharat	Madras	K. Appa Rao
Urdu:—		
Rahbar	Bombay.	Mrs. Kulsum Sazari
Roshni	Patna	Mass Literary Committee
Sar Panch	Lucknow	Nasim Annolni

Name	Place	Proprietor
	List of monthlies	
Assamese:—		
Minar	Dibrugarh	Jamisuddin Ahmed
Ramdhenu	Gauhati	Ramdhenu Prakash Ltd.
Bengali :—		
Achal Patra	Calcutta	Dwiptendra Kumar Sanyal
Arthik Prasanga	Calcutta	D. Mukherjee
Bharat Varsha	Calcutta	Haridas Chatterjee and others.
Bishal Bangla	Calcutta	Bisal Bangla
Byayam	Calcutta	B. C. Ghosh and others
Chiktsa Jagat	Calcutta	A. D. Mukherji and others
Chitra Bani	Calcutta	Gour Chatterjee
Janasiksha	Calcutta	West Bengal Government Eddcation Directorate
Jayasree	Calcutta	Leela Roy
Mahila	Calcutta	B. K. Chatterji
Nara-Naree	Calcutta	S. K. Haldar
Neda-e-Islam	Calcutta	His Holiness Al-Haj Maulana Shah Sufi Abu Nesar, Mohd. Abdul Hai Siddique.
Prabasi	Calcutta	K. N. Chatterji and Ashok Chatterji
Pronab	Calcutta	Bharat Sevasram Sangha
Roopa Mancha	Calcutta	Kalish Mukherji
Sakti Darpan	Calcutta	Sri Parmananda Ashram
Samhati	Calcutta	Swen Nugogi
Saniborer Chithi	Calcutta	Sajani Kanta Das
Shikshak	Calcutta	S. R. Chaudhuri and others
Siksha-Brati	Calcutta	P. K. Pramynik
Sisir	Calcutta	Sisir Kumar Mitra
Sisu Sathi	Calcutta	Brindabon Dhar and Sons Ltd.
Taruner Swapna	Calcutta	Malhika Datta
English:—		
All India Motorist	Delhi	Indian Trade Publications Ltd.
All India Reporter	Nagpur	All India Reporter Ltd., Bombay.
Antiseptic	Madras	Dr. U. Krishna Rao
Ave	Ranchi	Superior Regular Manresa House
Caravan	New Delhi	Delhi Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd.
Chartered Accountant	Calcutta	The Institute of Chartered Accountants of India.
Current India Statutes	Simla	Anand Mohan Suri
Dominion Law Reporter	Nagpur	D. D. Datar
Eur Asia	Calcutta	Eur Asia Ltd.

Name	*Place*	*Proprietor*
Filmindia	Bombay	Filmindia Publications Ltd.
Food and Farming	Delhi	Agriculture Machinery Dealers and Manufacturers. Association of India
Hindustan Review	Patna	R. K. Sinha
Indian Aviation	Calcutta	Messrs. Thomes Ltd.
Indian Digest	Nagpur	All India Reporter Ltd.
Indian Review	Madras	G. A. Natesan & Co.
Indian Textile Journal	Bombay	Indian Textile Journal Ltd.
Insurance World	Calcutta	Messrs. Roy's Commercial Agency Ltd.
International Medical Abstracts and Review	Calcutta	Dr. Jyoti Dhar
Journal of the Cine Technicians Association of South India	Madras	Cine Technicians Association of South India
KalyanKalpatru	Gorakhpur	Gobind Bhawan Kariyalaya Trust, Calcutta
Law Herald	Nagpur	All India Reporter Ltd., Bombay
Madras Young men	Madras	Madras Y. M. C. A. Board of Directors
Modern Review	Calcutta	K. N. Chatterji and Ashoka Chetterji
Motorist	Madras	Auto Publications
National Sports	New Delhi	Captain Anant Singh
On Looker	Bombay	A. Macrhe & Co., Ltd.
Prabudda Bharat	Calcutta	Trustees of Advaita Ashram
Railway Labour	Calcutta	B. Sen Gupta (Ed.)
Rays of Light	Tiruchirapalli	Catholic Trust Society of India
Rotary News	Bangalore	D. N. Hosali
Southern Railway Magazine	Tanjore	T. S. Krishna Rao
Telepost	New Delhi	Union of Post and Telegraph Workers
Theosophist	Madras	Theosophical Society
Treasure Chest	Mysore	Treasure Chest Committee
Vishwa Bharati News	Shantiniketan	Vishwa Bharati University
War Cry	Poona	Salvation Army
Yearly Digest	Madras	R. Ramaratnam.
Gujerati:—		
Akhand Anand	Ahmedabad	Sastu Sahitya Mudranalaya Trust
Alankar	Bombay	Himmatlal Chunilal Jhaveri
Balak	Ahmedabad	Bhikhobhai P. Vyas
Baljeevan	Baroda	Ramanlal N. Snah
Gharshale	Bhavnagar	Harbhai Trivedi (Ed.)
Gulab	Baroda	Umed Chand R. Shah (Publisher)
Hitechchoo	Surat	S. J. K. Mochi Gnati Parishad
Kodium	Bhavnagar	Nanabhai Bhatt
Mohd Mahodaya	Bhavnagar	G. A. Maniar (Ed.)
Nagarik	Bombay	N. J. Gor.

Name	Place	Proprietor
Nasim-e-Sahar	Poona	Kalimddin Abdul Hussain Hussainy
Ramakadun	Bombay	Rewlabhai Suharbhai Patil
Sat Sandesh	Ahmedabad	The Sandesh Ltd.
Hindi:—		
Abhinaya	Calcutta	Abhinay Publishing Syndicate
Ajkal	Delhi	Publications Division, Miny, of I. & B. Govt. of India.
Amar Jyoti	Delhi.	M. S. Bharati & others
Amar Kahani	Delhi.	Narain Das Garg
Arogya	Gorakhpur	Vithal Das Modi
Arun	Moradabad	The Arun (Press & Newspapers Ltd.
Ashok	Delhi	Sudhir Bharadwaj
Ayurved	Saharanpur	Indra Das Sharma
Ayurved Mahasammelan Patrika	New Delhi	All India Ayurved Congress
Bal Bharati	Delhi	I. & B. Ministry, Govt. of India
Bal Sakha	Allahabad	Indian Press Publications Ltd.
Bal Sakha	Banaras	H. P. Ghosh and others
Bekar Sakha	Shikohabad	Thakur Mehtab Singh Deshbhakta
Bijli	Banaras	Mrs. Kamta Prasad Jagannath Prasad
Chingari	Banaras	Kamta Prasad Jagannath Prasad
Chunnoo Munnoo	Patna	Ajanta Press Ltd.
Didi	Allahabad	Prem Lata Devi
Galp Bharati	Calcutta	Jamuna Singh
Gaon	Patna	Bihar Co-operative Federation
Gita Dharam	Banaras	..
Jasoos	Delhi	Narain Das Garg
Jasoos Ghar	Allahabad	Shrimati Jayanti Devi Shukla
Kalpavriksha	Ujjain	Dr. B. K. Nagar
Kalyan	Gorakhpur	Govind Bhavan Karyalaya Trust, Calcutta.
Madhup Jasoos	Allahabad	..
Man Mohan	Allahabad	Mitra Prakashan Ltd.
Manohar Kahaniyan	Allahabad	B. N. Ghosh & others
Manorma	Allahabad	Babu Sajjan Aggarwal
Maya	Allahabad	K. M. Mitra and B. N. Ghosh
Nagin	Banaras	Kamta Prasad Jagannath Prasad
Naya Shikshak	Bikaner	Education Department, Rajathan
Nayi Dhara	Patna	Udaya Raj Sinha and Partners
Nishkalanka	Ranchi	Superior Regular Manresa House.

Name	*Place*	*Proprietor*
Nok Jhonk	Agra	Dr. J. C. Chaturvedi
Panchayati Rajya	Kanpur	Ram Swarup Chateurvedi
Parmarath	Shahjahanpur	Daivi Sampad Mandal
Prakriti	Lashkar	Prathvi Nath Sharma
Rang Bhumi	Delhi	Dharam Pal Gupta
Rangila Mussafir	Jagadhri	K. L. Sharma and Sons
Sadguru Sandesh	Gaya	Sadguru Sadafal Deo
Sahitya Sandesh	Agra	Sri Mahondra Ji
Sajen	Allahabad	Srimati Jayanti Devi Shukla
Sajni	Allahabad	Do.
Saraswati	Allahabad	H. Ghosh & Others.
Sarita	New Delhi	Delhi Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.
Sarvodaya	Wardha	Shanker Rao Deo
Satsang	Ranchi	Superior Regular Manresa House
Udayama	Nagpur	V. N. Vadegaonkar
Vishal Bharat	Calcutta	K. N. Chatterji & Ashok Chatterji
Vishwa Wani	Allahabad	B. N. Pande
Yug Chhaya	Delhi	Samapat Lal Purohit
Kannada:—		
Balabandhu	Bangalore	J. T. Sreekantaiya
Gokula	Bangalore	The Mysore Press Ltd.
Gorakshana	Mysore	M. S. Krishnarao
Kaliyuga	Mangalore.	Sahithya Vihara
Kathagara	Bangalore	G. A. Narasimhamurthy
Kathavali	Bangalore	N. Gupta (Publisher)
Koravanji	Bangalore	M. Siva Ram
Vidyadayini	Mysore	The New Education Fellowship Mysore Section
Vikata Vinodani	Bangalore	B. Shivappa
Vinoda	Bangalore	Deshahalli G. Natayana
Malayalam:—		
Ambuli Ammanan	Madras	D. Nagi Reddi
Balamitran	Alwaye	Mrs. A. Ittyerah
Cinema Chitram	Madras	T. V. Ramanath
Indian Central Nalikera Committee Bulletin	Ernakulam	The Indian Central Coconut Committee
Keralabhumi	Kozhikode	V. P. Purshottam
Kiranam	Trichur	P. K. Gopalakrishan Menon
Kudumba Deepam	Thevara	Superior Sacred Hearts Monastry

Name	Place	Proprietor
Little Flower	Manjummel	Very Rev. Fr. Prior
Messenger of sacred Heart	Do.	Very Rev. Fr. Prior
Narmada	Ernakulam	Artist M. K. Raghavan Nair
Rasikan	Attangal	N. Vasudevan Pillai
Sarojam	Kottayam	A. Madhavan Pillai
Taniniram	Trivandrum	K. Krishnan Nair
Marathi:—		
Girni Samachar	Bombay	The Millowner's Association
Jaihind Mala	Bombay	Vinayak Ramchandra Prabhu
Mulanche Masik	Nagpur	B. R. Modak
Profullamalla	Bombay	Vinayak Ramchandra Prabhu
Prakashmala	Bombay	Vinayak Ramchandra Prabhu
Rasanamala	Bombay	Vinayak Ramchandra Prabhu
Rahasayamala	Bombay	Vinayak Ramchandra Prabhu
Sahyadri	Poona	The Kesari Mahratta Trust
Stree	Kirloskarvadi	Kirloskar Bros. Ltd.
Udayam	Nagpur	V. N. Wadagaonkar
Vyapari Mitra	Poona	G. D. Shamra
Youvanmala	Bombay	Vinayak Ramchandra Prabhu
Oriya:—		
Cine Orissa	Berhampur	K.C. Tripathy
Dagaro	Cuttack	Nityananda Mahapatra
Mo Desh	Cuttack	B. K. Dass & R. P. Mohamz
Niankhunta	Cuttack	G. Mahapatra
Yuga Bharati	Calcutta	Akuli Misra
Punjabi :—		
Lok Sahitya	Amritsar	Nanak Singh
Phulwari	Jullundur	Hari Singh Dard
Preet Lari	Preet Nagar	Gurbukhsh Singh
Pritam	Delhi	Mohinder Singh
Punjabi Sahitya	Jullundur	Harbishan Singh
Tamil:—		
Ambulimama	Madras	B. Nagi Reddi
Ananda Bhodini	Madras	N. Munuswamy Mudaliar
Anandodayam	Madras	B. & C. Mills
Arampak Kalvi	Madras	P. Viraraghavan
Bala Mitra	Madras	B. V. Radhakrishna
Cauveri	Kumbakonam	S. Rangaswami & N. R. Ramanujam
Darul Islam	Madras	Abdul Rahman and others
Good Samaritan	Madras	I. Y. Samuel
Grihalakshmi	Tiruchirapalli.	T. S. Janaki
Gundoosi	Madras	P. R. S. Gopal & K. Radhakrishna

Name	Place	Proprietor
Kaithari	Coimbatore	M. K. Swamy
Kalaimagal	Madras	N. Ramaratnam
Kalanjiam	Madras	A. S. Venagopal
Kalaikathir	Peela Medu (Coimbatore)	G.R. Damodaran M. P.
Kannan	Madras	N. Ramaratnam
Kathal	Madras	Aru Ramanathan
Manida Inbam	Madras	D. Balakrishanan
Manjari	Madras	N. Ramarathnam
Mohini	Madras	P. Seetharamiah
Muslim Murasu	Madras	S. A. Shukoor
Natyamala	Madras	M. D. Raman
Pesumpadam	Madras	T. V. Ramanath
Poonjolai	Madras	M/S Books (India) Ltd.
Raja Pictures	Vellore	G. Tiruvengadaswamy Mudaliar
Senguntha Mithran	Madras	South Indian Sanguntha Mahajana Sangam
Screen World	Tiruchi	P. S. Janaki
Ramkrishna Vijayam	Madras	Ramakrishana Math
Thirppaga Zamirdhan	Madras	M. Madhursoodanasiwam
Vakil	Kumbakonam	Southern Book House Ltd.
Vazhkai	Cuddalore	P. Ramalingam Chettiar
Vinodan	Madras	P. S. Venugopalaswamy Naidu
Vydyamalar	Madurai	P. Muthukaruppa Pillai
Telugu:—		
Andhra Jyoti	Madras	B. Nagi Reddi
Bala	Madras	M. Raghava Rao
Bharati	Madras	S. Sambhu Prasad
Film	Madras	Y.V. Rao
Gundusoodi	Madras	K. Radhakrishanan P. A. S. Gopal
Kathanjali	Madras	A. N Raghavachar
Mali	Madras	N. R. Chandur
Mohini	Madras	P. Seetharamiah
Navvullu Puvvulu	Rajamundry	S. Balanath
Subhasini	Guntur	L. Venkataswarulu
Telugu Cinema	Madras	C. Venkata & C. Sambasiva Rao
Ujjeevi	Kakinada	The Oriental Missionary Society Allahabad.
Vinodini	Madras	P. S. Venugaopalaswami Naidu
Viswasree	Alamuru	P. Ramamurthy (Editor)
Urdu:—		
Ajkal	Delhi	Publications Division, Ministry of I & B. Government of India
Alfurqan	Lucknow	Mohd. Manzoor Nomani
Arya Vart	Delhi	M. R. Sikander

Name	Place	Proprietor
Assan Hadees	Bhopal	Haji Mohd. Khan
Astana	Delhi	M. M. Farooqui, Delhi.
Bano	Delhi	Zenob Bano
Biswin Sadi	Delhi	Ram Rakha Khushtar
Din Dunia	Delhi	Mufti Shokat Ali Fahmi
Jamalistan	Delhi	M. A. Rajan Saddiqui
Jasus	Delhi	Naraian Das Garg, Delhi
Khatoon-i-Mashriq	Delhi	Abdulla Frrooqi and Anwari Begum
Khilauna	Delhi	Mohd. Yusuf Dehlvi
Mastana Jogi	Delhi	J. P. Bhatnagar
Maulvi	Delhi	Abdul Hamid Khan
Shama	Delhi	Modh Yusuf Dehlvi
Sitara	Rampur	Mirza Zamir Ahmed

Quarterlies

There are some three hundred quarterlies published in the various languages current in India. Of these, more than half the number are published in English, Hindi coming second with less than 50 journals. The publications deal with a wide range of subjects covering literary, scientific, political, social, economic and professional activities and but for a few exceptions have limited circulations. The more important among them are shown in the classified list of journals on special subjects.

SPECIALISED AND TECHNICAL JOURNALS

The number of journals which specialise in one subject or deal with subjects of a scientific or technical nature has grown rapidly in the last two decades in trade, commerce and economics; for example, there are the old established papers, the *Capital* of Calcutta, the *Commerce* of Bombay, the *Indian Finance* of Calcutta, and the *Eastern Economist* published from Delhi. The *Indian Economic Journal,* organ of the Indian Economic Association and the *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* organ of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics are published from Bombay.

In Bombay besides the *Indian Textile Journal,* an established paper which is running into its 63rd year, there are 16 other journals of which the most outstanding are the *Chemical Age,* published twice a year, the *Onlooker's Monthly Review of Industry, Paintindia, Rubber India* and *Tanner,* all published monthly and dealing with the subjects indicated by their titles. In Indian languages, *Vyapar* is published in Gujerati as a weekly from Bombay. The *Artha* (Poona), a weekly, the *Vyapari Maharashtra* (Poona), and the *Sahyadri Vima Jagat* (Nasik), the monthlies, are pub-the *Udyam* (Nagpur), the *Vyapari Mitra* (Poona), the *Vima & Vyapar* (Poona), and the *Sahyadri Vima JaJgat* (Nasik), the monthlies, are published in Marathi. The Indian Merchants Chamber and the Oil Merchants Chamber bring out their own journals which are Anglo-Gujerati.

In Bengal, the *Calcutta Exchange Gazette and Daily Advertiser* is in its 133rd year of publication. The *Indian Trade Journal* is an official publication issued by the Director of Commercial Intelligence since 1908. Other established journals are the *Indian Soap Journal,* (1934), the *Indian Sugar* (1937), the *Joint Stock Company's Journal* (1936), the *Industry* (1910) and the *Insurance World* (1930). The *Jute Bulletin* is issued monthly by the Indian Central Jute Committee. In Bengali are published the *Arthik Jagat* (1938) and the *Arthik Bharat* (1947).

In Delhi, the *Eastern Economist* which has already been mentioned, also publishes a quarterly, the *Records and Statistics;* there are no other commercial publications of importance except a monthly journal titled the *Industry* which claims a large circulation.

Madras publishes the *Indian Factories Journal* published by the Company Law Institute of India. Mysore and Travancore publish journals and bulletin issued by the *Indian Coffee Board (Monthly)*, the *Indian Dairy Science Association* (quarterly), the *Mysore Chamber of Commerce* (Monthly), the *Indian Central Coconut Committee* (quarterly) and the *South Indian Soap Makers' Association* (monthly).

FILMS

Film journals are a flourishing business both because they deal with a light subject and their *risque* treatment of the personal lives of film stars and others. The most popular among these are the *Filmindia* (monthly), the *Screen* (weekly), the *Filmfare* (fortnightly), all published from Bombay; the *Filmgoer* (monthly), the *Sports & Screen* (weekly) from Calcutta; and the *Picturegoer* (monthly) and the *Rupbani* (weekly) from Delhi—all published in English. Their Indian language counter-parts are: the *Chitrapath* (Gujerati), a weekly, the *Veni* (Gujerati and Marathi weekly) from Bombay; the *Deepali* (Bengali weekly) from Calcutta; the *Chitra* (Urdu weekly) from Delhi; the *Shama* (Urdu) from Delhi and the *Gundoosi* (Tamil), the *Pesum Pedam* (Tamil) and the *Rupavani* (Telugu), all published monthly from Madras. The *Journal of the Film Industry* published from Bombay and the *Bengal Motion Pictures Association Journal* have limited circulations.

The only sports newspapers of any standing are the *Sports and Pastime* published weekly by the proprietors of the *Hindu* from Madras and the *Sporting Times* of Bombay and the *Sporting Star* of Bangalore.

AGRICULTURE

Journals on agriculture are mostly published by Government institutions or special interests. The *Indian Journal of Agricultural Science* and *Indian Farming* are government publications issued from Delhi; *Agriculture and Animal Husbandry* in English and Hindi is issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Information, Lucknow, and the *Indian Forester* is published by the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun. The Government of Bombay publish *Farmer* in English, Gujerati, Marathi and Kanarese and the Agricultural Institute at Allahabad publishes the *Allahabad Farmer.* The Planters in Bengal and Madras bring out their own journals. Individual private enterprise is responsible for about six journals with very limited circulations.

MEDICINE

In medical journals, Bengal leads with 17, the oldest being the *Indian Medical Gazette* (1865), the *Indian Medical Record* (1880), the *Calcutta Medical Journal* (1906), and the *Indian Journal of Medical Research* (1912). The All-India Dental Association, the Indian Chemical Society, the Indian Medical Association and the Bengal Tuberculosis Association each publish a journal of their own. Other journals relate to *Advance Therapy, Malariology, Pediatrics,* and *Pharmacy.* Bombay claims nine journals, the oldest being the *Indian Medical Journal* (1906) published from Poona which is the official organ of All-India Medical Licentiates Association. Other publications include the *Medical Guide* and the *Medical Digest,* the *Dental Review* and four journals on medical sciences, pharmacy, radiology and venereal diseases. Bombay also produces two Ayurvedic journals—one in Gujerati and the other in Marathi. Madras publishes the *Indian Journal of Surgery* (1939) and the *Antiseptic* (1904). Punjab publishes the *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology* while from Mysore the *Journal of the Christian Medical Association* of India (1925) and the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Mysore Medical Association* are issued.

ENGINEERING

There are 17 journals in all on engineering, the oldest being the *Indian and Eastern Engineer* (Calcutta, 1868), the *Indian Engineering* (Calcutta, 1887), the *Indian Concrete Journal* (Bombay, 1927) and the *Technician* (Bombay, 1938). The semi-official journals published from Delhi are: the *Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers' Journal* and the *Journal of the Institution of Military Engineers.*

There are four scientific journals including the *Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research* (1942) published by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of India, and the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society.*

There are six journals on transport and shipping, three on mining, six on education, 12 on aviation, seven on motoring, five Railway magazines, six on Art, Photography and Aesthetics, two on Architecture and one on Astrology. All India Radio publishes the *Indian Listener* under different titles in six different languages and there are two privately owned radio journals.

CASUALTIES AND NEW ENTRANTS

By the end of the war in 1945, a number of newspapers had come into existence, some because Government were anxious to secure maximum support for the war effort and to provide for anticipation or timely denial of alarmist rumours, and others because there was widespread interest in the war which made it profitable to produce news-sheets.

In 1950, however, newsprint moved from conditions of scarcity to that of high prices. During the scarcity period, Government, in consultation with newspapers, had introduced the price-page schedule. Later, the larger newspapers favoured removal of the restrictions while the smaller papers urged their continuance. When they were removed, the larger papers increased their size and tried to maintain the larger size despite the rise in prices. The smaller papers kept to their restricted size generally but some slimmed their pages and retrenched staff.

Some old newspapers which had not been doing too well closed down as well as some new ones which came into being with apparently inadequate resources. A notable casualty was the *Dnyan Prakash* of Poona which, after over a hundred years' service, abruptly closed down (See pages and). Another noted casualty was the daily *Prabhat* of Bombay. On the last day of publication, the paper carried an editorial attributing its extinction to unfair competition from the large chain newspapers. The methods employed were allegedly the enticing away of employees on higher salaries, the suborning of news agents and hawkers by offering them large commissions and other direct and indirect inducements to push the paper of the chain and withhold the established paper. The inducements offered to the readers were a larger paper and crossword competitions with large prizes.

A combined complaint against was the powerful Bharat Group started by the Akhil Bharat Bhavan consisting of the *Bharat* (English), the *Hindustan* (Gujerati), and the *Navbharat* (Marathi) established in 1948-49. But this group itself came to grief three years after its existence largely owing to mismanagement.

In Delhi, a number of language newspapers came into existence and they too were hit hard by the shortage in newsprint. As a result of the partition, some newspapers moved from Lahore to Delhi while others moved from Delhi to Karachi and Lahore. The Urdu dailies that closed down owing to financial and other difficulties included the *Karmavir*, the *Naujawan Mazdoor* and the *Ranjit Nagara*. A number of other journals continued in irregular publication but the well-established *Tej* of Delhi and the *Pratap* and the *Milap* originally of Lahore, did well. The Gurumukhi daily *Khalsa* also closed down.

Madras did not fare as badly, the only principal casualties being the *Indian Republic* which made a promising start in English but had to cease publication owing to lack of financial support, and the *Vijaya Prabha*, a Telugu Daily, which came into existence in 1950 and ceased publication in the same year.

In Bengal, a number of daily newspapers ceased publicaion, some of them being: the *Nation*, the *Ittehad*, the *Banga Patrika*, the *Swaraj*, the *Nationalist*, the *Eastern Express*, the *Paschim*, the *Bharat*, the *Jai Hind*, the *Hindustan* and the *Krishak*. The Dalmia chain started the *Satyayug* in Calcutta in 1948, the *Nav Bharat Times* in 1950 and the *Times of India* in 1953 (March), but again owing to financial difficulties all the three publications were closed down in September of that year. Other dailies started were the *Lokasewak*, the *Janasewak*, the *Sanmarg* and the *Ganavarta*.

In Mysore, the casualties consisted exclusively of small news sheets which led a hand-to-mouth existence. On the other hand, the *Deccan Herald* (English) established itself and a number of weekly magazines came into existence dealing with commerce and trade, films, and women. The *Mysindia* is still the established weekly of Mysore.

In Travancore-Cochin, the *Powraprabha* and the *Keralam* of Quilon and the *Republic* of Trichur ceased publication. New entrants were the *Arunodayam* and the *Powrakahalam*, both from Trivandrum.

Some of the other daily newspapers that have ceased publication may be listed as follows:—

English:

Mercury, Bangalore.

Sentinel, Hyderabad.

Gujerati:

Jai Gujarat, Baroda.

Maldhar, Bombay.

Hindi:

Vir Arjun, Delhi.

Janasatta, Delhi.

Malayalam:

Veerakesari, Trivandrum.

Punjabi:

Prabhat, Calcutta (daily).

Jai Bharat, Ludhiana.

Urdu:

Aftab-e-Nau, Bombay.

Payam, Hyderabad.

Rahnuma, Calcutta.

Siyasat Jagdeed, Kanpur.

A number of other small newspapers in the Indian languages, particularly in Urdu, are in irregular publication.

CHAPTER XIX

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF NEWS AGENCIES

Strange as it may seem, the idea of a news agency developed out of the need felt to avoid having to place undue restrictions on the Press. In earlier chapters we see that Sir Charles Metcalfe who championed the cause of the freedom of the Press, held that officials should be permitted employment in the Press so that "it should not fall exclusively in the hands of those who, however, loyal as British subjects, are disaffected towards the Hon'ble Company". (See page 31). Again, during Lord Ellenborough's Governor Generalship, Sir Charles Trevelyan urged that being allowed to contribute to the Press served the double purpose of enabling Government servants to influence and respond to public opinion. This question came up again and again as and when officials misused official documents and papers to vindicate their position in a controversy in the Press.

In 1878, when Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act was enacted, a Press Commissioner was appointed, in the first instance, to give information to the English owned and edited Press, though his functions were later widened to enable him to deal with the Indian language Press. The English-owned Press did not think much of the appointment because they had their own official sources of information. When the post was abolished by Lord Ripon in 1881, all the Indian language papers in the country, except three, petitioned for its revival (Page 88). Three time before the Varnacular Press Act was passed (in 1860, 1864 and 1869), the proposal was mooted for starting an official newspaper. Sir John Lawrence was strongly in favour of the project and the *Pioneer* of Allahabad came into existence in 1865 and was, for all practical purposes, an official newspayer (See page 78-79). The *Pioneer* had contacts with officials which made competing newspapers jealous of its advantage. The *Statesman*, represented by Everard Coates, the *Englishman* by E. J. Buck, and the *Indian Daily News* by Dallas decided to pool their resources and brought into being the *Associated Press of India* of which Buck and Coates were the first directors. K. C. Roy, who assisted them, claimed a directorship which was refused and as a consequence he formed a rival organization (the *Press Bureau*) together with Shri Usha Nath Sen. Roy's genius threatened to develop the Press Bureau into a serious rival and his terms were conceded. Pat Lovett refers to this development in his 'Journalism in India:'

"The *Pioneer*, then to all intents and purposes (was) the official organ. It was served by a capable journalist, Howard Hensman, who was *persona grata* to all the *deii majores*, civil and military. Hence it came about that the front page of '*The Pi*' was practically an official gazette the contents of which were pirated and broadcasted on publication........

Single-handed none of these pickers-up (Coates Buck and Dallas) of unconsidered trifles was a match for Hensman; so it occurred to them to pool their resources to prevail against the common foe. Buck and Coates were the first directors of the Associated Press with Roy, a kind of maid-of-all-work. When the news agencies were organised in all the important cities in India, Roy demanded a directorship which was refused; he promptly cut away from the old moorings and started on his own with his faithful henchman, U. N. Sen. The *Associated Press* could not withstand the opposition of the *Press Bureau* and the directors capitulated on the conditions

imposed by Roy, who, they had to acknowledge, was the mainspring of the comprehensive machine. Later on Coates was bought out by *Reuter*, and now the foreign and domestic intelligence published by all the 'live' dailies is supplied by the same agency which also enjoys a certain amount of State patronage and support. Recently a diminutive Richmond (Sadanand) has appeared in the field to challenge its title. He flaunts a banner with the bold device, 'Free Press.' His success depends upon the support he can get from the Indian Nationalist papers which are more numerous than those English-owned, but not so wealthy. He is making a brave struggle against tremendous odds and if only as a corrective of the growing officialism of the older agency deserves to succeed. The *Associated Press* has destroyed the old monopoly of the *Pioneer*, but at the same time it has smothered original enterprise anl adventure in news-getting both at Home and abroad.

From this bare outline it is not hard to appraise the influence of Mr. K. C. Roy in the development of the modern newspaper in India. He has never been an editor, nor, in spite of the important part he has taken in politics since the Montague Reforms came into action, has he been a political writer of eminence; nevertheless his instinct, it would be no exaggeration to call it genius, for the staple of news has proved a more potent factor in bringing Indian journalism up-to-date according to Western notions than any editor in the last forty years.

K. C. Roy, however, had his own problems and it took all he had to overcome them. In 1905 he asked Sri Usha Nath Sen to join him and after a few months of working during which Roy held accreditation to the Government of India for about five or six papers, a succession of problems came up for solution. Roy's was not a regular news agency. The multiple Press telegraphic rate which Lord Curzon strongly favoured had not come into full operation and the system of bearing telegrams by which each newspaper bore its own telegraphic cost was prohibitive for the Indian-owned papers. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Jame Jamshed* expressed the fear that they might have to discontinue the service. The formation of a regular news agency was the answer. Even so, the facilities extended to newspapers were not available to news agencies. Telegrams were, therefore, sent to a leading newspaper in Calcutta, they were received by Sri Usha Nath Sen who edited and copied them out and sent them to all the newspapers who subscribed for the service. Later, on the advice of a friend, Roy had the Indian Telegraph Act amended so as to secure for registered news agencies the facilities available to registered newspapers. Shri Usha Nath Sen was deputed to Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in succession, to open up branch offices and to fix subscription rates with newspapers, the charge for each newspaper being Rs. 350 per month, and the *Associated Press* paying the telegraph bills. After running for three years from 1910 in the face of serious financial difficulties, K. C. Roy decided to accept the offer for amalgamation with *Reuter*. At this time, the Government also felt the need for a telegraphic service of news and K. C. Roy started the *Indian News Agency*—a news bulletin of about 2 typed pages of foolscap—supplied at the rate of Rs. 60 per copy to leading civil and military officials. The *Indian News Agency* continued till 1947 when its utility was questioned and it was discontinued about a year or so later. As a result, the smaller newspapers suffered; for with the permission of the Government of India this summarised news service was being supplied to newspapers which could not afford the full service of the *Associated Press*.

Reuters Agency was started by Julius Reuter as a carrier pigeon service on the continent and developed into a telegraphic news service based in

London in 1858. The *Bombay Times* received and published *Reuters* news by mail for the first time in 1860. The *Bengalee* was the first Indian paper to take the service in 1900. In 1913, Sir Roderick Jones formed it into a Corporation of which he was the principal proprietor, Managing Director, and Chairman of the Board of Directors. By 1930, it was converted into a National Trust, owned by 190 British newspapers and having for its aim the uncoloured presentation of objective truth, irrespective of every outside consideration and influence. On matters relating to India and the service to and from India, *Reuters* was subject to strong official influence both in London and in Delhi. As the *Associated Press of India* was started by representatives of Anglo-Indian papers and later taken over by *Reuters* which was essentially a British concern, it was also similarly influenced to the detriment of its being able to provide an impartial news service in times of political crises.

Reuter's outward service from India was supplemented by two devices: "Reut-Buck" provided for amplification of certain messages which the Government were interested in carrying and "Globe-Reut" provided for similar amplification for world dissemination. The Government in Britain started a service known as *British Official Wireless* which was compiled by the British Foreign Office, relayed over a wireless system between Rugby and Kirkee and distributed by *Reuters*, in India at a charge to cover the bare cost of distribution. The service which was initiated in the early twenties gave at greater length than *Reuters* news of official or semi-official nature.

By the early twenties, *Reuters* and the *Associated Press* were well under official control. News of the non-co-operation and the civil disobedience movements was kept down to the barest minimum and Indian leaders in politics and business felt that on controversial matters (such as the rupee ratio, for example) their views were not adequately carried to London. It was in these circumstances that the *Free Press of India News Agency* came into existence. In the aims and objects of this news agency, it was stated as follows:—

"It was the realisation of the fact that owing to the monopoly held in the supply of news by subsidised news agencies, it was difficult, if not impossible, to develop healthy public opinion which was moulded entirely by the news supplied from day to day".

The directors were: Sir Purushottam Das Thakurdas, Sri M. R. Jayakar, Shri G. D. Birla, Sir Hheroze Sethna, and Walchand Hirachand. The active director was S. Sadanand. The *Free Press of India* made a promising beginning (1927) but it had trouble from the start. Official pressure was exterted on the directors and four of them resigned in 1929, and the fifth resigned in 1931 although, the *Free Press News Services* had shown evidence of bcoming self-supporting by 1930. The Press Ordinance of May 1930, however, came down with a heavy hand on all newspapers publishing *Free Press* news. Free Press telegrams were subjected to a strict censorship and newspapers grew reluctant to publish news supplied by the agency for fear of offending the press ordinance or other emergency press law.

When Sadanand found that his news agency was in danger of extinction, he started the *Free Press Journal* as an English morning daily in June 1930. This newspaper and a number of other associated newspapers he started published *Free Press* news exclusively. All the *Free Press* publications did well (See page 211). Competing newspapers, however, protested against a news agency running newspapers in competition with its customers. Sada-

nand persisted in his enterprise which was checked by his directors arriving at an agreement with the Associated Press which he had perforce to accept once it had been reached.

About this time *Reuters* and the *Associated Press* made it a condition, in selling their service to newspapers, that no other competing news agency service should be taken by those buying theirs. The final blow fell on the *Free Press of India* News Agency when Sadanand's Bombay newspapers forfeited security aggregating Rs. 20,000, and it closed down in 1935. Two years earlier, however, when the *Free Press Agency* was making heavy weather, the *United Press of India* was started from Calcutta by Sri B. Sen Gupta who had then just resigned from the *Free Press of India.* Sri Sen Gupta himself became the Managing Director and Dr. B. C. Roy was the Chairman of the Board of Directors. This agency too encountered difficulties from the very start and weathered many crises both through its efforts and its resilience. It may be mentioned here that in August 1942, when the Government of India issued a notification restricting publication of news relating to Congress activities, the *United Press of India* was listed with the *Associated Press* and the *Orient Press of India* as sources, news derived from which it was permissible to publish (See page 169). The *United Press* nevertheless worked under great difficulties during the war years as it had to compete, through normal telegraphic channels against the *Associated Press ot India* which enjoyed the facility of speedy teleprinted transmission. It nevertheless, supplied the newspapers with a sizeable service until April 15, 1948, when it was able to open up teleprinter circuits between Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. Dr. Rajendra Prasad performed the inauguration ceremony of the United Press of India teleprinter services on May 5 the same year and to-day the agency runs its service from 25 office of which the majority are linked by teleprinter.

The same year newspapers in India joined hands and formed the *Press Trust of India* with the object of establishing a co-operatively owned internal news agency. It arrived at a three-year agreement with the *Reuters* by which it took over the Associated *Press of India* and joined *Reuters* by equal partner in the collection and dissemination of world news. The agreement was, however, terminated at the end of four years and the arrangement now is that the *Press Trust of India* purchases *Reuters* services in bulk at Bombay and distributes it to its subscribers in India.

There are two news services operating in India to-day on a country-wide basis; the *Press Trust of India* which subscribes to *Reuters* world service and the *United Press of India* which by an agreement with the *Agence France Presse* entered into in April 1951, gives a service of Foreign News to its subscribers in India.

The *United Press of America* was making a limited distribution of its service to some Indian newspapers until March 1953, when the *Times of India* organised its own special internal news service and purchased exclusive rights for the *United Press of America* foreign service in India.

Newspapers and news agencies in India are fully conscious of the fact that world news services purchased from foreign sources cannot fully satisfy the requirements of Indian newspapers, but they hope that with experience and strengthened financial resources they will be able, in the fullness of time, to build up a service appropriate to India's needs both in the matter of content and quality. The *Press Trust of India* in particular, as

a co-operative enterprise run by newspapers themselves, has come in for a great deal of trenchant but well-intentioned criticism on the score of the inadequacy of its internal and its world service.

Small news agencies with slender resources have been started in recent years with the object of filling in the many gaps in internal news coverage. One such is the *Hindustan Samachar News Agency* of Bombay with branch offices in Delhi, Calcutta, Kanpur, Banaras, Nagpur, Patna and Bangalore. In addition to English, the service is supplied in Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Kannada, Bengali, Gujerati and Malayalam to newspapers published in those languages. While the service is now sent by post, telegraph and telephone, a Nagari teleprinter line has been opened between Patna and Delhi and other lines are expected to be established in course of time. The coverage aimed at is news on social, economic and cultural conditions and developments about the common man in the countryside.

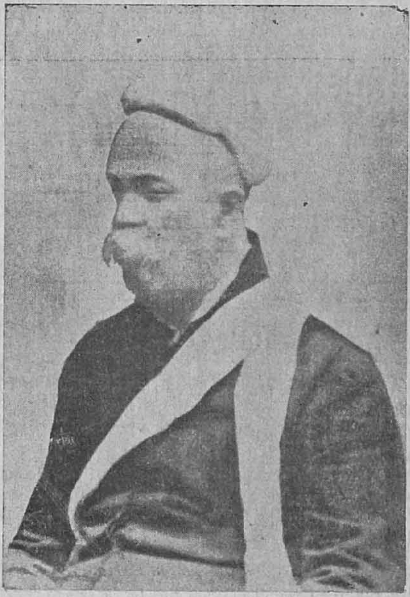
CHAPTER XX

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF NEWSPAPER ASSOCIATIONS

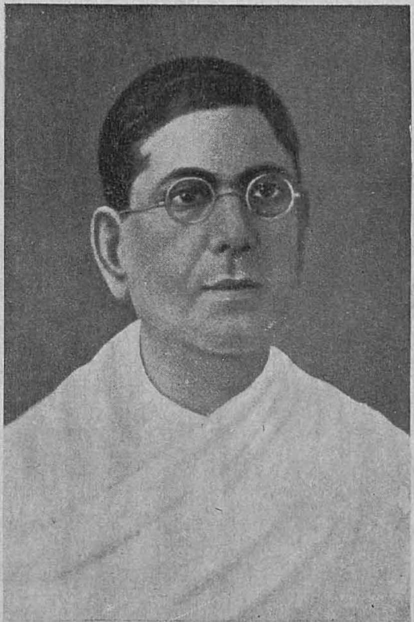
In the early years of journalism in India, the need for organising editors and newspapers arose from the restrictions imposed by the Government on the Press. The first public representation on behalf of the Press was made in 1819 by leading officials and merchants of the East India Company, thanking Lord Hastings for lifting the restrictions of pre-censorship imposed earlier by Lord Wellesley. In 1825, Raja Ram Mohan Roy presented what has been described as the Charter of the Freedom of the Press which was signed by himself, Chander Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Harchandra Ghosh, Gowricharan Banerjee, and Prasoona Kumar Ghosh. Thereafter, newspapers do not seem to have had occasion to make joint representations although Sir Charles Metcalfe's liberation of the Press by the repeal of the Adam Licensing Regulation of 1825, was publicly acknowledged. In 1857, one of the charges made against Lord Canning in the petition to the Queen for his recall was a protest on behalf of the Anglo-Indian Press that the Press Act of 1857 was applied equally to the British owned and Indian owned Press. Next in 1877, Sir Surendranath Banerjea and other newspapermen who had been invited to the Delhi Assembly presented an address to the Viceroy (Lord Lytton) expressing apprehension about reports of impending restrictions on the Press. Then followed a public meeting in Calcutta to protest against that piece of discriminatory legislation—the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. In 1881, when Lord Ripon abolished the Vernacular Press Act, Kristodas Pal of the *Hindoo Patriot* drew up a petition asking for the retention of the post of Press Commissioner which is said to have been signed by every Indian language newspaper editor throughout India, except three.

The first Native Press Association was formed in 1891, after proceedings had been instituted against the *Bangobasi* newspaper (see page 108) with the object of "improving the tone of the native press and preserving moderation in the discussion of public questions". The Association interceded on behalf of the *Bangobasi* and, on the strength of its representations, the proceedings were dropped. No organised representations by the Press seem to have been made for several years thereafter.

In 1915, five years after the rigorous enforcement of the Press Act of 1910 despite individual protests by political leaders and newspapers editors, the Press Association of India was formed for the defence of the interests of the Press in general, and its protection against undue encroachment upon its liberties by legislation and executive action. A representative body of the Association waited in deputation upon Lord Chelmsford who was then Viceroy, and detailed, in an address, the hardships inflicted on the Press and the public of India by the provisions of the Press Act and their arbitrary enforcement by the executive authorities. The response from the Viceroy was unsatisfactory and when the Sapru Committee was appointed in 1921, the Press Association of India presented a detailed memorandum analysing the working of press legislation in India from the earliest times.



Justice Ranade



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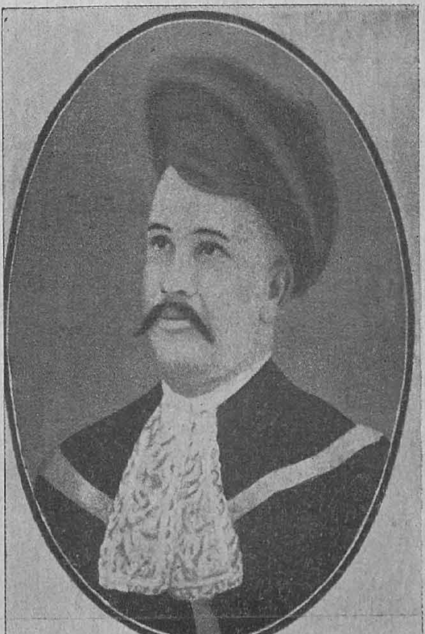

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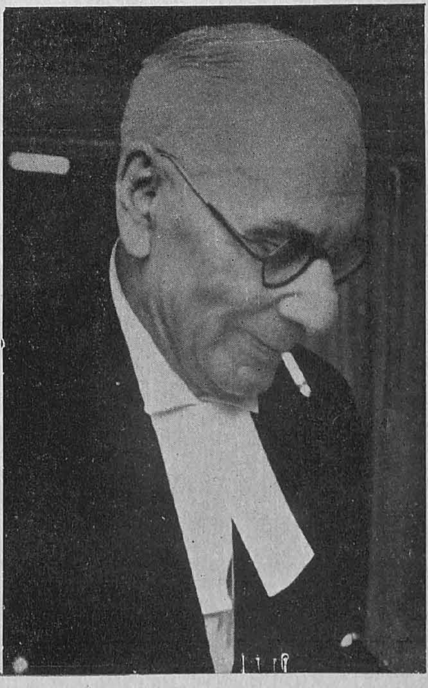

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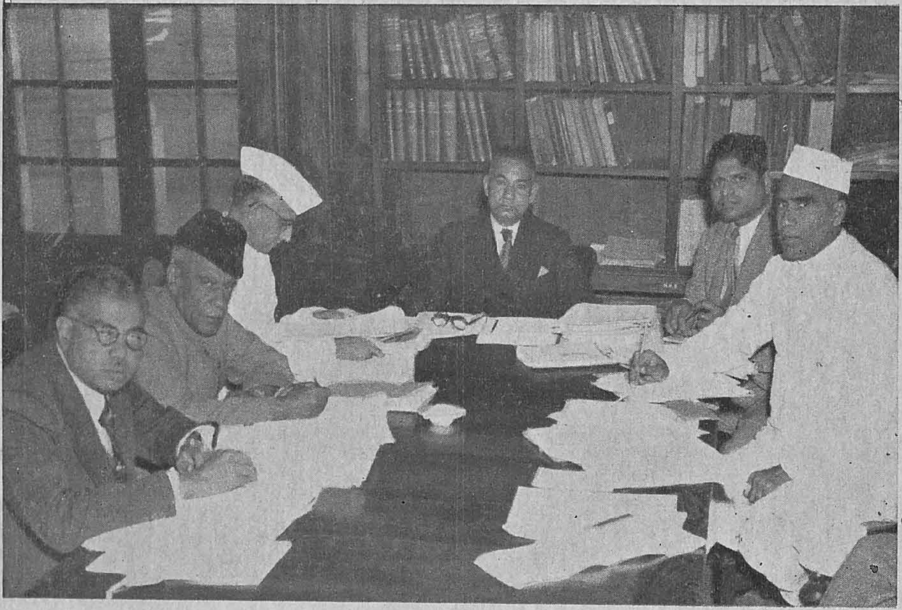
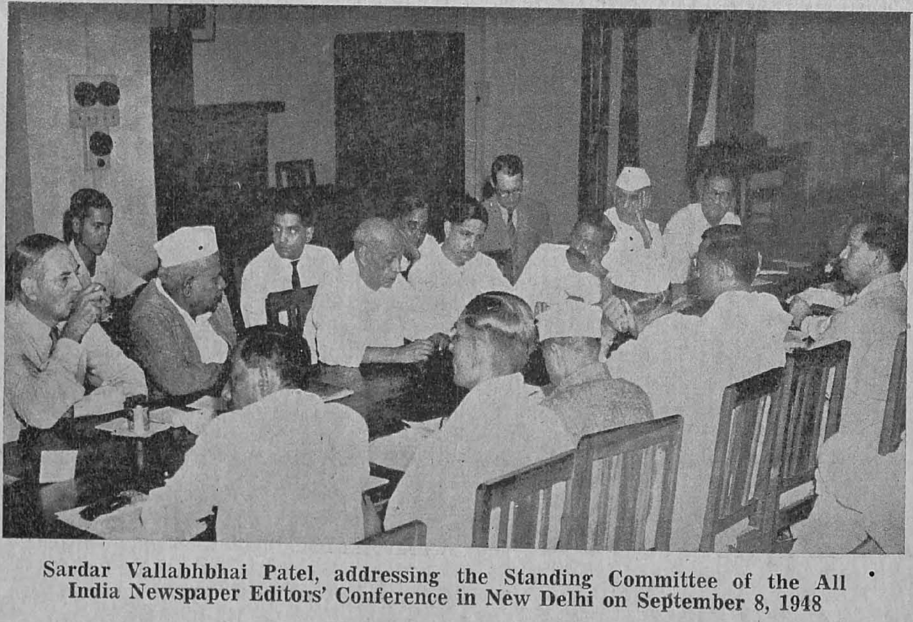


The Press Laws Enquiry Committee



Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, addressing the Standing Committee of the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference in New Delhi on September 8, 1948

In the early twenties, a number of journalists' associations were formed in the principal centres of newspaper production, notably in Bombay and Calcutta. Other associations, smaller in size, were formed in the various provinces. A later development was the formation of journalists' unions and for some years the associations and unions continued as bodies not easily distinguishable from each other.

Towards the middle thirties, the need was felt for organising a body for looking after the business interests of newspapers. After long negotiation the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society was formed in 1939, to act as a central organisation of the Press of India, and to promote and safe-guard their common business interests. The Society started with a membership of 14 but now there are approximately a hundred members representing daily newspapers and periodicals published in eleven different languages. The Society has dealt successfully with problems of newsprint, the standardisation of advertising practices, and generally assisted in improving relations between the publisher and the advertiser. It is through the efforts of the Society that the Press Trust of India and the Audit Bureau of Circulation came into existence though both organisations now function independently of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society.

Independent of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society but nevertheless out of it, developed the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference which came into existence in 1940. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was established in 1940 as a result of the efforts of some members of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society who were alarmed by the comprehensive pre-censorship order in respect of news relating to Gandhi's satyagraha movement passed by the Government in the closing months of 1940. Before the Conference presided over by Sri Kasturi Srinivasan, editor of the *Hindu*, commenced its session, there were negotiations between the Government of India and those who organised the Conference, and as a result of the discussions an agreement commonly known as a "gentleman's agreement" was arrived at. Under the "gentleman's agreement", the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference undertook to see that newspapers in the country did not publish material which would impede the prosecution of the War and the Government, on its part, agreed not to place vexatious restrictions on publication of news relating to the war. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in coming to this agreement, was guided by what it considered was the precedent set up by the British Press in respect of the publication of news relating to the war. During the war years, the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was largely concerned with advising its members to observe restraint in comments and news so that they may not come within the mischief of the Defence of India Rules. In accordance with the agreement reached with the Government of India, the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference set up Advisory Committees in the various provinces to regulate relations between the Government and the Press. The work of the Press advisory committees throws considerable light on the efforts of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference to protect newspapers during the difficult war years. But for the intervention of these Press advisory committees, in many cases, newspapers would have been closed down by the Government. This does not mean, however, that the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was effective in all cases. It failed in its intervention in the case of the *National Hearld* and the *Sainik* of Agra. These two cases presented insuperable obstacles to a settlement, as the then Governor of the U.P. was unwilling to countenance any satisfactory settlement of these two cases.

The records of the Conference show that from time to time the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference intervened with success in favour of newspapers against which action had been threatened by the Government. One of the notable cases of successful intervention was that of Sri A. D. Mani, who had defied an order under Section 116(ii) of the Defence of India Rules. Under this order, the Government had asked him to divulge the name and address of the person who had given him information regarding the resignation of Mr. J. R. Blair, Chief Secretary of Bengal. As a result of the urgent representations made by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, this order was publicly withdrawn by the Central Provinces Government in December 1943. After the termination of the war, the Press advisory committees continued to exist in the various States and advised Government on the application of the Press laws and generally helped to promote good relations between the Government and the Press.

When Indo-Pakistan relations worsened in 1950, and there was talk of war between India and Pakistan, the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference convened an Indo-Pakistan Conference in May 1950, in New Delhi, to which editors from Pakistan were invited. As a result of the decisions of the conference, an Indo-Pakistan Joint Press Committee was set up to foster harmonious relations between the Press in India and Pakistan. The object of this committee was to see that there was no inflammatory incitement to war in either the Indian or the Pakistan Press. This committee functioned for two years at the end of which its work had to be suspended on account of the worsening of relations between India and Pakistan. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference also took part in the deliberations of the Inter-Dominion Consultative Committee of the two countries. The Government nominated two Press representatives, on the advice of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference. to this conference.

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was the first journalistic body in India to take up the question of working conditions of journalists and after due enquiry it adopted a resolution at its Lahore meeting of the Standing Committee in 1944, recommending that Rs. 100 should be the minimum salary per month of a journalist on an English newspaper and Rs. 75 on any language newspaper. This resolution led to criticism on the ground that the language newspapers were being discriminated against in favour of the English newspapers, though a lower minimum was fixed for language newspapers only at the request of language newspapers themselves. It was resolved after this experiment that as far as details of working conditions of journalists were concerned, the proper forum for an examination of the question would be that of trade unions and organisations specially formed for the purpose. The All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference has in recent years taken a keen interest in the maintenance of standards of the profession among the newspapers and has passed important resolutions condemning the publication of scurrilous material. In the case of complaints made against individual newspapers, the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference has sought to use its good offices by persuading newspapers to make amends where necessary.

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference has also been responsible for nominating delegations of journalists to visit foreign countries. On the advice of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, the Government of India gave Press accreditation cards to newspapermen who wished to cover the first session of the United Nations in San Franscisco. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference also nominated a delegation of journalists to

visit Egypt. When the Trans-World Airlines invited newspapermen to visit the U.S.A., the All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference took the responsibility of nominating its representatives on the delegation on a request being made to it by the Trans-World Airlines.

In international conferences though the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was not officially represented at the U.N. Freedom of Information Conference, its President S. A. Brelvi took part in the discussions of the Conference. Sri Devadas Gandhi was a member of the U.N. Sub-Commission on the Freedom of Information and the Press. Later, when the Covenant on Freedom of Information came up for discussion, the President of All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, Sri A. D. Mani, took part in the discussion as an alternate delegate at the U.N. session in New York in September-December 1952.

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference and Indian Federation of Working Journalists were foremost among the organisations in demanding the repeal of repressive Press laws. From time to time, the former has adopted a number of resolutions on the subject at the meetings of its Standing Committee and at the open session of the Conference. It was largely on account of the insistence of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference that the Government of India appointed a Press Laws Enquiry Committee and its then President, S. A. Brelvi, and its ex-President, Sri K. Srinivasan, served on the Committee. When Article 19(2) of the Indian Constitution was to be amended, the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference and the Indian Federation of Working Journalists made vigorous representations to Government and their representatives met the Prime Minister to place their respective points of view before him. As a protest, the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference decided to suspend the working of all committees associated with the Government (see page 175). Subsequently, efforts were made by the Conference to resume relations with the Government through liaison committees and their revival and composition is now under consideration. Recently, the A.I.N.E.C. adopted a code of professional conduct for journalists as the result of deliberation over a number of years.

Mention has already been made of the fact that unions of journalists had been formed at various centres. Prominent among them were the Bombay Union of Journalists, the U.P. Working Journalists Union and the Delhi Union of Journalists. In 1942 the U.P. Press Conference was formed to resist the war-time restrictions imposed on the Press by the Government. Its first session was presided over by Syed Abdullah Brelvi. It met again two years later, to protest against the action taken by the Government against certain newspapers, prominent among them being the *Aj*, the *Sainik* and the *National Herald*. In 1946, it drew up a charter for working journalists and formed itself into the U.P. Working Journalists Union; it later became a trade union in 1950. It also urged the United Provinces Government (now Uttar Pradesh) to institute an enquiry into the working of the newspaper industry in the province and to appoint a press consultative committee. Both demands were conceded and the U.P. Press Consultative Committee was constituted and an enquiry was instituted into the working of the industry in the U.P. No action has been taken on the Report of the Committee.

The Indian Federation of Working Journalists came into existence on October 29, 1950. Twenty-three Working Journalists Organisations that existed at that time participated in the All-India Convention held in Delhi

under the presidentship of Sri Chelapati Rau. The Convention decided unanimously to form the All-India Federation and appointed a committee of seven members to frame a constitution. The committee consisted of representatives of the Indian Journalists Association, Calcutta, the Bihar Journalists Association, the U.P. Working Journalists Union, the Delhi Union of Journalists, the Bombay Union of Journalists and the South Indian Journalists Federation. The constitution of the Federation was adopted at a special session in Bombay, on April 14 and 15, 1951. At this stage the South Indian Journalists Federation did not take any part because it was opposed to the trade union basis of the Federation, though its representative was requested to participate and place his viewpoint before the session.

After the formation of the Federation, a number of journalists organisations have been formed in various parts of the country, notably the Travancore-Cochin Working Journalists Union, the Saurashtra Working Journalists Union, the Maharashtra Union of Journalists, the Gujerat Working Journalists Union, the Rajasthan Working Journalists Union, the Madhya Bharat Union of Working Journalists, the All-Hyderabad Working Journalists Union, the Madhya Pradesh Union of Working Journalists, the Vindhya Pradesh Union of Working Journalists and the All-Assam Journalists Association.

The Federation, at its first session in Delhi, adopted a code of conduct for its members. It also demanded an enquiry into the conditions of working journalists and the repeal of the Press laws. The demand was reiterated at its Calcutta session in 1952, when it formally demanded the appointment of a Press Commission to make a comprehensive enquiry into the entire working of the Press. The demand was considered by the Government and within a month, the President of Indian Republic declared that the Press Commission would be appointed. Later on the Federation was asked to nominate a representative on the Commission and it nominated its president, Sri M. Chelapati Rau.

The Federation resolutely opposed the amendment of Article 19 (2) of the Constitution of India. Later on it opposed the enactment of the Press (Objectionable Matter) Act. A deputation of the Federation met the Home Minister, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, to explain to him the Federation's objections to the provisions of the Bill. The Federation later on submitted a memorandum to the Select Committee that went into the Bill and set out in detail its objections to various provisions of the Bill. It also launched a campaign to explain to Members of Parliament the working journalists' objection to the Bill. The President of the A.I.N.E.C., Deshabandhu Gupta, gratefully acknowledged this in his speech in Parliament. When the life of the Act was renewed in March 1954, by an amending Bill, the Federation was in the forefront of the agitation against the Bill and met a number of Members of Parliament, belonging to various parties and obtained their support against the Bill.

The Federation also took up the case for the amendment of the Company Law in order to protect the interests of journalist employees. Two memoranda were submitted by the Federation to the Company Law Enquiry Committee.

The Federation has also kept a vigilant eye on all matters affecting the rights of the Press and of working journalists and has been educating Members of Parliament and Government on some of these problems. It objected to the curtailment of newspapermen's facilities for the collection

of news in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Pepsu and Delhi. On the intervention of the Federation and its constituent units in various areas, the restrictions imposed were withdrawn.

As a result of the intervention of the Federation, the sub-editor of a Calcutta paper who had been detained under the Preventive Detention Act was released.

The Federation has set up at New Delhi a Bureau of Standing Counsel and Legal Advisers. This Bureau took up the case of 21 dismissed employees of the *Vishwamitra* of Kanpur and fought their case in the Supreme Court. The twenty-one employees were reinstated in service as a result of the Supreme Court's judgment and were also given their salaries during the period of appeal. Legal advice was given to a number of newspapermen who were dismissed or discharged without adequate notice. Some of the journalists unions, notably the U. P. Working Journalists Union, have taken full advantage of the existing legislation and have obtained relief in a number of cases from the U.P. Industrial Tribunal and other labour courts. It also obtained relief by launching proceedings under the Payment of Wages Act and the Provident Fund Act.

The Federation has been all along demanding that working journalists should be specifically covered by the labour laws of the country. A Journalists' Day was celebrated all over India on August 27, 1953, and a demand was made that journalists be specifically covered under the Act. This demand has received the support of all trade union organisations in the country whose representatives participated in the celebration of Journalists' Day in various parts of the country. In the State of Travancore-Cochin, the Government have announced their decision to set up a newspaper inquiry committee, on a demand made by the Travancore-Cochin Working Journalists Union.

Recently, when Bennet Coleman and Company closed down its Calcutta edition of the *Times of India* and other publications, the Federation (as well as the A.I.N.E.C.) condemned the closure and asked for an inquiry and appropriate relief to the employees. As a result of the Federation's efforts, the matted was agitated in both Houses of Parliament and the Prime Minister personally intervened to express his sympathy with the persons whose services had been terminated suddenly and arbitrarily. The matter was referred to an Industrial Tribunal and the Tribunal has awarded relief to the employees. As a result of the intervention of the Press Commission, the employers have agreed to pay journalists employees and relief that might be granted to other workmen of the company by the Tribunal. The Commission secured this assurance so that any lacunae in the law at present would not stand in the way of the journalists affected getting relief.

The Federation, though organised on trade union basis, is not affiliated to any of the all-India trade union organizations or international organizations of Journalists but has been maintaining close fraternal and friendly relations with the All India Trade Union organizations in matters affecting the general interests of labour as a class.

The Federation has accepted the invitation from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to participate in the proposed International Conference of Professional Organisations of Journalists and News Enterprises for the evolution of an international code of ethics for journalists.

An association of newspaper proprietors, analogous to the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society is the Indian Languages Newspapers Association. It came into existence on the eve of the Newsprint Control Order of 1941, through the efforts of Sri Amritlal Sheth (then of the *Janmabhoomi*) and Sri A. R. Bhat (then of the *Kesari* and now of the *Sampada*). Indian language newspapers which were mostly medium and small-sized felt that their problems in regard to the supply of newsprint and other matters required special consideration. The annual membership fee of Rs. 1,000 levied by the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society was beyond the capacity of these papers.

The Indian Languages Newspapers Association thus came into existence to promote and safeguard the business interests of Indian languages newspapers and periodicals. The Association all along pressed for the grant of a preferential newsprint quota to small newspapers and the demand was conceded by Government. During the period of control, the Association supplied forms of returns with necessary instructions under the newsprint and paper economy orders to newspapers and periodicals spread in the mofussil. The Association was the first to press for the introduction of a rigid price-page schedule. The Association opposed the removal of the price-page schedule in 1952 and warned Government that it would lead to cut-throat competition among newspapers with its adverse effects on newspaper economy. After an agitation of about six years, the Association through its President, Sri A. R. Bhat, succeeded, in 1952, in securing the removal of the sales tax on periodicals which was levied in the Bombay State. Further, formerly when the Bombay State Government levied an advertisement tax, the Association succeeded in securing exemption for periodicals.

The Association has, all along, stressed the necessity for the promotion of a public corporation with a monopoly for the purchase and sale of newsprint. In order to help small newspapers to secure their requirements of newsprint at fair and reasonable prices, the Association promoted the Indian Newspapers Co-operative Society Ltd., in 1946. Experience of the working of the Society showed that while in a period of scarcity and rising prices, a large number of newspapers was keen to take full advantage of the services of the co-operative society, it did not make purchases through the society when the reverse was the trend. From 1947 to 1951 the Society purchased and sold to its members newsprint worth about Rs. 25 lakhs.

The Association is now concerning itself with problems affecting the small Indian language newspapers, particularly in the mofussil, in the matter of advertisements, the attitude of advertising agencies, the inadequacy of the news services and the competition of chain papers. The Association publishes a monthly, *Language Press Bulletin*.

Reference has already been made to the Southern India Journalists' Federation which, although not an all-India body, is nevertheless an organisation of size and standing and publishes an organ of its own, the *South Indian Journalist*. This organisation was originally started in 1938, by a number of mofussil correspondents under the name of the Tamil Nadu Journalists' Federation. In the course of a few years, journalists employed on the editorial staff of newspapers in Madras city also joined the organisation, and in 1946, it assumed the name of the Southern India Journalists' Federation which was registered as a society under the Registered Societies Act in 1951. It has a membership of 450, consisting of editorial employees of dailies and weeklies in Madras City, mofussil correspondents and journalists in Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Hyderabad as well as journalists from South India working in other parts of India and the world.

While the Federation does not favour the organisation of journalists in trade unions, it has endeavoured consistently to improve the status and service conditions of its members. It has conducted enquiries into service conditions of journalists and made representations to newspaper proprietors. The Federation prepared a report on service conditions and salary scales of journalists in 1944, and in its findings demanded the fixing of a minimum salary and a scale and the provision of provident fund, leave facilities and other amenities. It prepared a further report in 1946-47 covering the entire ground afresh and submitted it to the management of newspapers. While all the demands of the Federation have not been conceded, its efforts have resulted in a general improvement in salary and service conditions all round. It has also conducted refresher courses and given training to journalists.

Of the associations referred to above, the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, the Indian Federation of Working Journalists and the Indian Languages Newspapers Association were represented on the Press Commission.

Besides the associations dealt with in this chapter, there are a number of local associations throughout the country, some of which are affiliated to the A.I.N.E.C. or the I.F.W.J., while others are independent of both bodies.

CHAPTER XXI:

GOVERNMENT PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

In India, as in other countries, when the first newspaper made its appearance, the Government's first thought was how its publication could be suppressed. The first editor was deported before he could earn the title. When newspapers came to stay, the endeavour was to keep things out of the Press. To give information to the Press was regarded as derogatory to the prestige of the Government (See page 81). Government publicity in India, was therefore, a child born of reluctance out of necessity and, in the early years, a very sickly infant. In the days of the East India Company, officials owned and ran newspapers. They used, or rather misused, official information to serve their own personal or group ends. The Government itself was not very clear in its mind about the official information which a newspaper could usefully publish and often newspapers were pulled up for publishing certain kinds of official information long after they had been doing it regularly, and with the best of intentions. As most such "offences" were committed by English owned and edited newspapers, the editors were, in most cases, let off with a warning.

In 1836, Lord Auckland introduced the practice of giving editors a digest of the intelligence received from Kabul and the North West Frontier (See page 72) appreciation of which was expressed by the editor of the *Englishman*, after it had been discontinued by Lord Ellenborough.

The first Press officer to give official information to the Press was appointed about a hundred years after the first newspaper was established in India and that, as an after-thought to the passage of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. C. E. Buckland, a Civil Servant, was the first temporary incumbent of the post of Press Commissioner. He was succeeded by Roper Lethbridge, a professor in the Bengal Education Service. Lethbridge was happy in his assignment and thought he was doing a good job, but others did not think so and the post was abolished with the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act in 1881. There is some truth in Lethbridge's contention that the Anglo-Indian Press which had easy access to Government sources did not favour its monopoly being impaired. Thereafter the Government made no effort at organised official publicity and became increasingly inclined to the view that an official newspaper would serve their purpose well. Reference has already been made to the fact that while the proposal was turned down as often as it was made, the *Pioneer* was actually started in 1865 as an official newspaper. After the rebellion of 1857 and, later, the controversy over the Ilbert Bill in 1883, the Anglo-Indian Press became the champion of the British cause in India and the need for an official publicity organisation was not felt.

India's magnificent response to the war effort (World War I) made a deep impression on the Government and partly to compensate for the rigorous application of the Press laws (a petition for the repeal of which was turned down by Lord Chelmsford) and as a friendly gesture the Government set up a number of publicity boards throughout the country with a

Central Publicity Board at headquarters. Pat Lovett writes of this gesture as follows:—

"In the general (war) effort the co-operation of the Indian-edited Press was in the last degree edifying, considering the temptation and provocation it had received to sulk in a Cave of Adullam. The Bureaucracy, for the first time in all its history, went out of its way to propitiate this great instrument of propaganda. Publicity Boards were established in diverse centres and clever officials were appointed to be nice to the men who not long since were regarded as scum by the Secretariats. Tours were organized to enable Indian journalists to see what was going on at the battle fronts, and in many other ways their importance was officially flattered. I shall not easily forget the apotheosis of Panchcowrie, the gallant editor of the *Nayak*, in the quadrangle of Government House when Lord Ronaldshay was King of Bengal. That was a halcyon time for Indian editors, and although of short duration its memory is sweet. There was, however, even then a fly in the ointment and strange to say it was discovered by the first British journalist whom the Government of India had knighted for meritorious service to the State through the medium of his paper. Sir Stanley Reed, editor of the *Times of India*, with sublime abnegation offered to place his talents and experience at the disposal of the Government for six months, free, gratis and for nothing, to be employed in the all-important work of publicity and propaganda. The offer was accepted with warm gratitude by the Viceroy, and he was put in charge of the Publicity Bureau at Simla. The enthusiasm of the Head of the State was not shared by the permanent officials offended by this slur on their omniscience. They took a mean revenge by denying the interloper the status and powers of a Secretary to Government which were the essentials of efficiency and success. Nevertheless Sir Stanley Reed worked wonders with an inadequate equipment and proved to the chagrin of the sun—dried bureaucrats that given an equal chance he would have made just as good statesman in India as Lord Harmsworth or Lord Beaverbrook in England".

Sir Stanley Reed gives an account of his experiences in the strange assignment. The organisation which was under the Home Member had on it the representatives of the Army, the Foreign and Political Department, and three newspaper correspondents. The Secretary, a schoolmaster invalided from the territorial force, and a few clerks, constituted the staff. Sir Stanley Reed put forward the following scheme:—

"The Board would advise, assist, furnish material, and so forth, but it would not attempt to administer or control; administration would be the sole prerogative of the Provincial Boards, with adequate funds for the purpose, these would be free from interference, but could call on the central body for any material or counsel they desired. When that note was laid before the Board for consideration the eyebrows of the official members were lifted, for this was not what they had in mind, nor was it the action decided before my arrival; but it went through without the alteration of a comma and was hailed with glee by all the provincial authorities. So much for the first step.

It is enough to say that Sir Stanley Reed encountered opposition and red-tape at every step. He had made up his mind to return to Bombay, when Lord Chelmsford sent for him and appealed to him in the public interest and as a great personal favour to see the business through. He told Sir Stanley to fix his own remuneration with the Finance Member. Sir Stanley refused the offer of remuneration and organised and conducted the work of the Board till march 1919 when he wound up the Board complete with a statement of accounts showing an expenditure of two-thirds of the first financial provision of £7,500. He also submitted a memorandum on the composition of a Publicity Department which he had prepared at the request of Lord Chelmsford. The two essential conditions he laid down were that the propaganda head should be a trained journalist and that he

should have no more than a personal assistant, "the first opening of a file should be the signal for his replacement". Sir Stanley quotes, in particular, the response to his memorandum from the Punjab as coming from a member of the Indian Civil Service: "You will note that I have insisted that this post should never be filled by one of the I.C.S. I have done that because if it is found that the job is worth taking, it will be said that only an I.C.S. man is competent to fill it".

The Central Bureau of Information was set up soon after and Professor Rushbrook Williams of Allahabad University who had worked with Sir Stanley Reed on the Central Publicity Board since its inception was appointed Director. In his evidence before the Press Laws Committee of 1921, Professor Rushbrook Williams explained the working of the Department as follows:—

"Question.—What is it exactly that you are supposed to do?

Answer.—This Department, which for the sake of convenience is a sub-section of the Home Department, is really a link between the Government and the Press. The most important part of the duties of myself and my colleagues is to examine the current press, both English and Vernacular, with the object of finding out topics in which the public is interested and on which it requires information, and of finding out matters in connection with which the action of Government is criticized. Our duty is then to extract the more important of these statements and to bring them to the notice of the departments concerned with the request that more information about a given subject should be published because the public is interested; or that particulars should be given about this matter because the public is in doubt; or that explanations should be furnished about that matter because the public is dissatisfied.

Question.—In addition to that I understand that if there is any misapprehension with regard to facts in connection with any of Government, or the policy of Government you try to remove that misapprehension?

Answer.—The matter really resolves itself into an extension of the previous function. Our knowledge of these mis-apprehensions on the part of the public comes from the newspaper press, and in bringing these facts to the attention of the departments, we always enclose a slip drawing the attention of the departments to the things we consider most serious, in order that the departments may give a statement of the facts. Very often the departments themselves merely give the bare facts of the case and authorize me or my colleague to prepare a summary in a form which will be acceptable to the press. Because the difficulty with the ordinary Government communique is this, that an editor whose paper is full of interesting matter does not feel inclined to fill up his columns with Departmental Communiques couched in a bald official style.

Question.—So that I take it, it is no part of your functions to manufacture information?

Answer.—Not in the slightest degree. I deal with facts. I may give you an illustration of the kind of work which I am constantly being asked to do. For example, a certain paper publishes accounts of frontier matters which are regarded by the Foreign and Political Department as liable to hinder negotiations with Afghanistan. The Foreign and Political Department thereupon asks me to get into communication with the editor of the paper concerned and ask him as a public duty to exercise a certain moderation over the alarmist tone of his correspondents.

Question.—You said just now that you get into touch with editors. Do you make any distinction between one class and another class?

Answer.—Not in the slightest degree. It would be impossible.

Question.—Would you give the material to any editor?

Answer.—To any one who was willing to insert it in his paper.

Although Sir Stanley Reed's condition that the head of the Bureau should be a journalist was not adhered to, Professor Rushbrook Williams made a good, though limited, beginning—limited because of Sir Stanley Reed's condition about staff. The Director of Public Information published annually a report on the *Moral and Material Progress of India* which was Stephens in his report for 1934 casts some aspersions on the manner in which funds raised by the Congress for Earthquake Relief in Bihar had been disbursed. Dr. Rajendra Prasad who was in charge of the relief work at the time clearly established that regular accounts had been maintained and published from time to time, and Mr. Stephens apologised and withdrew the charges.

A little before the inauguration of the 1935 Reforms, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Director of Information (India Office), visited India in 1935 and again in 1936 to study the problems of the Indian press and to reorganise the Bureau of Public Information. Mr. Joyce too was of the view that the chief of the Bureau should be an experienced journalist. He favoured, however, an expanded staff and laid down detailed procedure for the issue of official releases, the provision of background material, the answering of queries and the holding of Press conferences. He emphasised the importance of maintaining objectivity in the preparation of material issued by the Bureau and of treating Indian and Anglo-Indian journalists on an equal footing. Mr. Jossleyn Hennessy was appointed Principal Information Officer of the reorganised Bureau of Public Information, on grounds of his experience as a correspondent of British newspapers and news agencies on the European continent.

In accordance with Mr. Joyce's recommendations, Information Officers of the Bureau were recruited from among Indian journalists through the Public Services Commission and, in 1938, Sri J. Natarajan of the *Pioneer* was appointed Deputy Principal Information Officer. In the following year the war broke out and the Bureau of Public Information and All India Radio were brought together under the Directorate of Information and Broadcasting with Sir Frederick Puckle as Director-General. For administrative purposes, however, the Bureau remained with the Home Department and All India Radio with the Department of Communications. In 1941, the Viceroy's Executive Council was expanded and Information and Broadcasting became a full-fledged department with Sir Akbar Hydari (Sr.) as Member and Sir Frederick Puckle as Secretary. War time Press censorship was at the outset entrusted to the Bureau of Public Information but later a Police Officer was appointed as Chief Press Censor and attached to the Home Department. He was succeeded a few months later by Mr. Desmond Young, editor of the *Pioneer*, and the designation of the office was changed to Chief Press Adviser with the introduction of the Press advisory system, which Mr. Young was largely responsible for negotiating with the All India Newspaper Editors Conference. Defence services publicity was taken away from the Bureau of Public Information and a separate Inter-Services Public Relations Directorate was set up with Mr. Ivor Jehu of the *Times of India* as the chief.

The Department of Information and Broadcasting functioned in the first instance as a central co-ordinating authority. Later, however, it extended its activities over a wide field including the National War Front with a special Women's Section, the Counter-Propaganda Directorate, the office of the Advertising Consultant and the War-purposes Exhibition and a Films Division. At about this time Mr. P. J. Griffiths, an ex-Civil Servant of Bengal, and later

Secretary of the Indian Tea Association was appointed Publicity Adviser to the Government. The External Affairs Department had a China Relations Officer and an American Relations Officer, Sir Evelyn Wrench. Mr. Guy Wint also worked for External Affairs Department publicity in a not too clearly defined capacity. In short in the war years publicity and public relations attracted many Englishmen who wished to have the satisfaction of speeding the war effort.

On the close of the war, the National War Front was designated the Field Publicity Organisation and its activities supported by the Counter Propaganda Directorate were the subject of scathing criticism in the Central Assembly. As the result of an adverse vote the Field Publicity Organisation and the Films Division were closed down. The Films Division was later revived as it was found that private studios were unwilling to undertake the production of documentaries.

A remodelled Publications Division has brought out a number of attractively got-up books and periodicals including *March of India,* an illustrated bi-monthly, *Aj-Kal,* a monthly published in Urdu and Hindi, and *Bal Bharati,* a Hindi monthly intended exclusively for children.

The activities of the Bureau of Public Information were, however, confined to the Press. The British Ministry of Information had its own offices in Delhi but all its material intended for the Press was distributed through the Bureau of Public Information. The U.S. Office of War Information too channelled its releases through the Bureau which withheld any item which was regarded as unsuitable. The Government of India Inter-Services Public Relations Directorate also followed the same procedure.

The Bureau of Public Information expanded rapidly in its own field. It published a fortnightly journal, the *Indian Information,* in English, Hindi and Urdu and issued releases to the Press in English, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil and Gujerati. Following the Bengal famine, it set up branch offices in Bengal, Punjab, Bombay, Madras and U.P. It dealt with some 200 Indian and foreign correspondents and besides the day to day publicity of Government Departments, organised press conferences for important foreign personalities (like Mr. Louis Johnson) and publicity for Generalisimo. Chiang Kai-Shek and Madam Chiang in 1941, the Cripps Mission in 1942, the Wavell Talks in 1945 and the Cabinet Mission in 1946.

In matters of policy, the Bureau of Public Information established the principle in 1938 that Government advertisements should be placed with newspapers strictly on the basis of circulation and influence, and secured a ruling that the Bureau would not engage in personal publicity for the Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council when they made political speeches or statements unconnected with the work of the Government.

Arising from the reports of the Trade Commissioners abroad that they were receiving a number of enquiries about India, unconnected with trade which they were unable to answer, the Bureau put up a proposal (1939) for the appointment of Press Attaches to Trade Commissioners and as a result Mr. Jossley Hennessy was sent to Washington (1941) as Public Relations Officer to the Agent-General for India. In 1942, the Bureau submitted a scheme for publicity in China after the visit of the Principal Information Officer to Chungking. The scheme, however, did not materialise.

In 1945, Mr. Hennessy was succeeded in Washington by Sri J. Natarajan who had officiated as Principal Information Officer in India during Mr.

Hennessy's absence. Sri Natarajan was succeeded by Dr. Anup Singh and later by Colonel Unni Nair who was appointed Public Relations Officer in Washington, a post which he held until his death in Korea when the jeep in which he was travelling exploded a mine. A memorial has been established in his name in the National Press Club in Washington.

In India, Sri Pothan Joseph was appointed Principal Information Officer in 1945 and eight months later he was succeeded by Sri A. S. Iyengar who held the office for three years during and after the difficult period of transition until his contract expired when he was succeeded by Sri B. L. Sharma, as Principal Information Officer.

The Inter-Services Public Relations Directorate has been attached to the Press Information Bureau (as the Bureau of Public Information is now called) as its defence wing and publishes a weekly journal for the troops, the *Fauji Akhbar* in English, Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Roman Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi and Roman Gurkhali.

The Press Information Bureau maintains sub-offices in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

The External Affairs Department has its own publicity wing since 1948, and controls Public Relations Officers and Press Attaches in Indian Embassies abroad. Indian Information Offices have been set up in Afghanistan, Australia, British East Africa, Burma, Canada, Egypt, Iran, United States of Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Malaya, Pakistan, Pondicherry, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Foreign Information Services:

There are several foreign organisations which distribute material to the Press in India as well as issue pamphlets, journals, and maintain libraries. The U.S. Information Service has offices at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and Bangalore. It issues to the Press cabled speeches and comment, articles from the U.S. press, background material, newspapers, books and pamphlets, photographs, and weekly surveys of news and views. It also maintains libraries at various centres and publishes the weekly *American Reporter.*

The British Information Service issues cabled comment, signed articles, background, monthly surveys on economic and world affairs, books, magazines and photographs.

The Tass Agency (U.S.S.R.) issues cable material, articles, background, periodical publications, pamphlets, and sometimes photographs and books.

The Central China News Agency (official) issues pamphlets, and limited printed material and occasionally photographs.

The Pakistan Information Service issues news bulletins.

The Australian Public Relations Officer issues comment, surveys, pamphlets and periodical publications.

The Canadian Press Attache, the Swiss Embassy and Yugoslavia Embassy issue occasional material to the press, other foreign agencies issuing material are Denmark, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Israel, Nepal, Portugal and Syria.

Besides these Foreign services, there is a United Nations Information Centre at New Delhi which covers India, Burma and Ceylon. There is also the F.A.O. Information Service at New Delhi which disseminates information regarding the work of Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations. The International Labour Organisation office in Delhi issues occasional material.

APPENDIX I

Minute by the Honourable Sir W. Robinson, K.C.S.I., Member of the Governor's Council, Fort St. George, dated 28-1-1878.

A proposal to limit a useful liberty which has been conceded, with enormous balance of social and political advantage, to our Native fellow-subjects in India for well-nigh half a century, a liberty which is educating the people in freedom of thought and independence of character, and is (Mr. Eden's dictum notwithstanding) highly valued by them,—and to limit it with a distinction between English and Native newspapers, and in a manner which can scarcely fail in practice to become very arbitrary, is a matter for very serious consideration. After giving the subject much anxious thought, I must declare myself unable to advise it. The difficulties and risks seem to me grave, and the safeguards which we already have are, if not insufficiently appreciated, not applied as they might be.

2. In the first place, I am quite unable to endorse Mr. Eden's estimate of Native public feeling in India towards their Vernacular press. On the contrary, I believe that, to a man, the intelligent, cultivated, and influential classes—while deprecating its occasional vulgarity and extravagance—value their Vernacular Press and highly prize its liberty, for the same reasons which actuate their European fellow-subjects in the same interest; they do so under even stronger incentives and apprehension than the latter. I am, therefore, satisfied that the hostile measures to which Mr. Eden would invite the Government and Legislature would only tend to extend and aggravate the disloyalty and alienation they are expected to mitigate; and while I can easily conceive circumstances under which this concensus of disapproval must, for a time, be firmly braved, I do not think that there is sufficient reason at this moment for challenging the strongly hostile feeling and distrust which would assuredly be evoked even in those minds which are best affected towards our Government and race. A strong feeling pervades the Native mind that we are unfaithful to our pledge and principles; and I can conceive no measures more likely to confirm this impression than those which may be aimed at what the intelligent classes have already come to look on as a constitutional privilege.

3. Nor do I think that Mr. Eden rightly estimates the fidelity of the Vernacular Press—unreasonable though it often is—as an index of Native feeling and thought. Looked at from our point of view, its tone is natural, for the sympathy and appreciation of an Oriental people is probably beyond the reach of an alien bureau and foreign despotic Government; while its criticism—hostile as it often is—is generally precisely what is to be looked for under the circumstances, and rarely goes, in substance, beyond strong difference of opinion where such is quite reasonable. Inconvenient, therefore, though the extravagance and occasional want of loyalty evinced by the Vernacular press may be, we possess in it a useful barometer of Native feeling and sentiment; a barometer such as no menaced or sycophant Press could possibly continue to be. There is an appreciable safety in knowing the worst that even our discontented subjects are thinking of our measures and administration; and the experience of other countries (than England) to

which Mr. Eden alludes, has shown that a restricted press is no guarantee for the loyalty of their subject or dissatisfied nationalities. There are disadvantages—and grave ones—in having existing discontent and hostile criticism formulated and circulated amongst the people; but, on the whole, I think the balance of political advantage is in favour of an unmenaced press even in India.

4. Serious objections present themselves to my mind to the proposal to treat differentially the English and Vernacular Press. The existing race-alienation—spreading and widening daily—is serious enough as it is; and I confess that I think that some of the low radical writing of England, ex. gr., of the Bradlaugh School, which is read with avidity in South India, is doing far more material harm than anything the Vernacular Press is diffusing. A compromise of principle here would, I am sure, have a very bad effect.

5. The proposals relate to two grounds of apprehension in respect to the Native Press—

(1) Corrupt abuse of the liberty of the press for purposes of intimidation and the levy of black-mail in respect to private individuals, public officials, Native Princes, and the like; and,

(2) Its disloyal tone and spread of seditious sentiment.

6. Facts in regard to a small section of the Press of America and of our own Colonies—and even to some obscure prints in England—show that the Native Press of India is not alone obnoxious to the charge of occasional malicious and corrupt intimidation: but I am quite satisfied that the law, as it stands, affords quite sufficient protection to persons who may be unjustifiably assailed, and the frequency with which trials for defamation appear on our judicial files, both criminal and civil, shows that there is no distrust of its administration. The same holds good of public officials; and possibly in India—where public opinion is wanting, public morality low, and corruption rife—the fear of the indigenous Press is not an unalloyed evil. Native Princes are more likely to subsidise the Native Press from sinister motives than to fear it. I think that any attempt to transfer the protection of persons of whatever class from offences of this class, from the legal tribunals to the executive would be most inexpedient. I do not myself believe that fear of the Press is at this moment deterring any class of public officials from doing their duty; and if it were, the remedy lies in leaving such persons to the education in courage which a free—albeit somewhat scurrilous—press imparts. I would deprecate any alteration of the press law in this direction—even the exaction of security as proposed in this discussion. I have never heard of a case in which the responsible editor when "wanted" could not be found. The demand of security would be felt to be a covert menace: it would interfere exceptionally with a fair industry, but would not remove the man of straw in whose name the security would appear. I cannot read the summary of Sir George Campbell's advice recorded on page 8 of the Viceroy's Minute without feeling that the very existence of a Press worthy of the name—of a Press such as we require in this country as an exponent of Native feeling—is at stake. Formulate the words of Sir George Campbell's recommendation as an affirmative explanation to section 124A, give a procedure which removes what is termed "the *eclat* of a long prosecution," and place in the hands of a sensitive, irritable executive the power "to shut up newspapers" which it judges contain "mischievous and seditious libels on the Government," and you have a gagged, ruined, and sycophant press, at once contemptible and useless, if not dangerous. Under such circumstances, the judicial tribunals of this country would

scarcely be entitled to public confidence by their constitution, while, on the other hand, we might occasionally witness an unseemly contest between the executive and its nominee on the bench.

7. As regards the proposal to introduce the provisions of the Irish Act—with, as I gather, some modifications in the direction of greater stringency—I do not think that the conditions of things, social and administrative, are sufficiently analogous to ensure equal safety and consideration. In Great Britain we have a public opinion such as is entirely wanting here; Irish Courts are presided over by Irish judges aided by Irish juries, while the executive is more immediately under the observation of Parliament, in which Irish interests are fully represented. Every condition of this country presents a complete contrast as respects safeguards. Further—writing under correction—I believe that our law of sedition is more precise and stringent than that of Great Britain. On the whole I am satisfied that the conditions of this country present for greater danger to the reasonable liberty of the Press than the conditions of Ireland under similar legal restrictions. Warning and confiscation would practically mean suppression without hearing or trial in India.

APPENDIX II

This official table shows action taken against newspapers under Press Act in 1910, 1911, 1912 1913 and 1914

List of Newspapers proceeded against under Section 8(2) *of the Indian Press Act*, 1910 (1 *of* 1910) *up to* 1914 *and those which had to close down as a result*

Serial No.	Name of News Paper.	Amount of security demanded and date on which deposited.	Place at which security was deposited.	Whether the Newspaper ceased to appear after demand for security.	Language in which the newspaper was published.
1	2	3	4	5	6
			1910		
(*a*)	Madras—Nil.				
(*b*)	Bombay				
1	Kal, Poona	5,000	Not deposited	Ceased publication at the time of demand of security.	Marathi.
2	Rashtramat, Bombay	5,000	Do.	Do.	Anglo-Marathi.
3	Gujarati, Bombay	2,500 (23-3-1910).	Bombay	Continued publication	Anglo-Gujarati.
4	Sakli, Surat	5,000	Not deposited	Ceased publication at the time of demand of security.	Gujarati.
5	Rajasthan, Ahmedabad	1,000	Do.	Do.	Do.
(*c*)	Bengal.				
6	Dharma, Calcutta	2,000	Not deposited	Ceased publication	Bengali.
7	Karmayogin, Howrah	2,000	Do.	Do.	Do.
(*d*)	Bihar and Orissa—Nil				
(*e*)	United Provinces—Nil				
(*f*)	Punjab				
8	Mujaddid, Lahore	2,500	Not deposited	Ceased Publication	Urdu.
(*g*)	Burmah—Nil.				
(*h*)	Central Provinces				
9	Desha Sewak, Nagpur	2,500	Not deposited	Ceased publication	Marathi.
(*i*)	Assam—Nil.				
(*j*)	North-West Frontier Provinces.				
10	Frontier Advocate, Dera Ismail Khan	4,000	Not deposited	Ceased Publication	Urdu.

(*h*) Coorg—Nil.
(*l*) Delhi—Nil.

1911

(*a*) Madras—Nil.
(*b*) Bombay

1	Punch Bahadur, Bombay	500 10-2-1911.	Bombay	Continued publication at the time of demand of security.	Urdu.

(*c*) Bengal.

2	Daily Hitavadi, Calcutta	5,000	Not deposited	Ceased publication	Bengali.

(*d*) Bihar and Orissa—Nil.
(*e*) United Provinces—Nil.
(*f*) Punjab.

3	Jhang Sial, Jhang Maghiana	Rs. 1,000 1-8-1911	Jhang	Continued publication	Urdu.
4	Almuin, Amritsar	Rs. 1,500	Not deposited.	Ceased publication	Urdu.

(*g*) Burma—Nil
(*h*) Central Provinces—Nil
(*i*) Assam—Nil
(j) North-West Frontier Provinces—Nil
(*k*) Coorg—Nil
(*l*) Delhi

5	Alhaq, Delhi	Rs. 1,000	Delhi	Continued publication	Urdu.

1912

(*a*) Madras—Nil
(*b*) Bombay

1	Kesari, Poona	Rs. 5,000 24th-29th May, 1912	Poona	Continued publication	Marathi.
2	Kathiawar and Mahi Kantha Gazette, Ahmedabad.	Rs. 2,000	Not deposited	Continued publication for which the editor was convicted under Section 23(2) of the Press Act, 1910, and fined Rs. 300. After this the paper ceased publication.	Gujarati.

1	2	3	4	5	6
(*c*) Bengal—Nil					
(*d*) Bihar and Orissa—Nil					
(*e*) United Provinces—Nil					
(*f*) Punjab—Nil					
(*g*) Burma—Nil					
(*h*) Central Provinces—Nil					
(*i*) Assam—Nil					
(*j*) North-West Frontier Provinces—Nil.					
(*k*) Coorg—Nil.					
(*l*) Delhi					
	1913-14				
3	Albidayat, Delhi	2,500	Not deposited	Ceased publication	Urdu.
(*a*) Madras.					
1	Yatharthavachani, Tanjore	500 28-2-1914	Tanjore-Sub-Treasury	Continued publication	Tamil.
(*b*) Bombay—Nil.					
(*c*) Bengal—Nil.					
(*d*) Bihar and Orissa—Nil.					
(*e*) United Provinces—Nil.					
(*f*) Punjab.					
2	Ahl-i-Hadis, Amritsar	2,000	Not deposited	Ceased publication	Urdu.
(*g*) Burma—Nil.					
(*h*) Central Provinces—Nil.					
(*i*) Assam—Nil.					
(*j*) North-West Frontier Provinces—Nil.					
(*k*) Coorg—Nil.					
(*l*) Delhi.—Nil					

APPENDIX III

Act No. VII of 1908

An Act for the prevention of incitements to murder and to other offences in newspapers.

Whereas it is expedient to make better provision for the prevention of incitements to murder and to other offences in newspapers; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

Short title and extent

1. (1) This Act may be called the Newspapers (Incitements to Offences) Act, 1908.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India.

Definitions

2. (1) In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

(a) "Magistrate" means a District Magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate;

(b) "Newspaper" means any periodical work containing public news or comments on public news;

(c) "Printing press" includes all engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing.

(2) Save as herein otherwise provided all words and expressions in this Act shall have the same meaning as those respectively assigned to them in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1908.

Power to forfeit printing presses in certain cases

3. (1) In cases where, upon application made by order of or under authority from the local Government, a Magistrate is of opinion that a newspaper printed and published within the Province contains any incitement to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence, such Magistrate may make a conditional order declaring the printing press used, or intended to be used, for the purpose of printing or publishing such newspaper, or found in or upon the premises where such newspaper is, or at the time of the printing of the matter complained of was, printed, and all copies of such newspaper, wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty, and shall in such order state the material facts and call on all persons concerned to appear before him, at a time and place to be fixed by the order, to show cause why the order should not be made absolute.

(2) A copy of such order shall be fixed on some conspicuous part of the premises specified in the declaration made in respect of such newspaper under Section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, or of any other premises in which such newspaper is printed, and the affixing of such copy shall be deemed to be due service of the said order on all persons concerned.

(3) In cases of emergency or in cases where the purposes of the application might be defeated by delay the Magistrate may, on or after the making of a conditional order under sub-section (1), make a further order *ex parte* for the attachment of the printing press or other property referred to in the conditional order.

(4) If any person concerned appears and shows cause against the conditional order, the Magistrate shall take evidence, whether in support of or in opposition to such order, in manner provided in section 356 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

(5) If the Magistrate is satisfied that the newspaper contains matter of the nature specified in sub-section (1), he shall make the conditional order of forfeiture absolute in respect of such property as he may find to be within the terms of the said sub-section.

(6) If the Magistrate is not so satisfied, he shall set aside the conditional order of forfeiture and the order of attachment, if any.

4. *Power to seize*

(1) The Magistrate may by warrant empower any Police-officer not below the rank of a sub-Inspector to seize and detain any property ordered to be attached under section 3, sub-section (3), or to seize and carry away any property ordered to be forfeited under section 3, sub-section (5), wherever found and to enter upon and search for such property in any premises—

(a) Where the newspaper specified in such warrant is printed or published, or

(b) where any such property may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, or

(c) where any copy of such newspaper is kept for sale, distribution. publication or public exhibition or reasonably suspected to be so kept.

(2) Every warrant issued under sub-section (1) so far as it relates to a search shall be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

5. *Appeal*

Any person concerned who has appeared and shown cause against a conditional order of forfeiture may appeal to the High Court within fifteen days from the date when such order is made absolute.

(6) *Bar of other proceedings*

Save as provided in section 5, no order duly made by a Magistrate under section 3 shall be called in question in any Court.

7. *Power to annul declaration under Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.*

Where an order of forfeiture has been made absolute in relation to any newspaper the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, annul any declaration made by the printer or publisher of such newspaper under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and may by such notification prohibit any further declaration being made or subscribed under the said Act in respect of the said newspaper, or of any newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper, until such prohibition be withdrawn.

8. *Penalty*

Any person who prints or publishes any newspaper specified in any prohibition notified under section 7 during the continuance of that prohibition shall be liable, on conviction, to the penalties prescribed by section 15 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

9. *Application of Code of Criminal Procedure*

All proceedings under this Act shall be conducted so far as may be in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

10. *Operation of other laws not barred*

No proceedings taken under this Act shall operate to prevent any person from being prosecuted for any act which constitutes an offence under any other law.

APPENDIX III

Act No. 1 of 1910

An Act to provide for the better control of the Press.

Whereas it is necessary to provide for the better control of the Press; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

Short title and extent

1. (1) This Act may be called the Indian Press Act, 1910.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India, inclusive of British Baluchistan, the Santhal Parganas and the Pargana of Spiti.

Definitions

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

(a) "Book" includes every volume, part or division of volume, and pamphlet, in any language, and every sheet of music, map, chart or plan separately printed or lithographed;

(b) "Document" includes also any painting, drawing or photograph or other visible representation;

(c) "High Court" means the highest Civil Court of Appeal for any local area except in the case of the provinces of Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg where it means the High Court of Judicature for the North-Western Provinces and the High Court of Judicature at Madras respectively;

(d) "Magistrate" means a District Magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate;

(e) "Newspaper" means any periodical work containing public news or comments on public news; and

(f) "Printing-press" includes all engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing.

Deposit of Security by keepers of printing-presses

3. (1) Every person keeping a printing-press who is required to make a declaration under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall, at the time of making the same, deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than two thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Provided that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any security or may from time to time cancel or vary any order under this sub-section.

(2) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing-press kept in any place in the territories under its administration, in respect of which a declaration was made prior to the commencement of this Act under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, is used for any of the purposes described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing, require the keeper of such press to deposit with the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the press is situated security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than five thousand rupees, as the Local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Power to declare security forfeited in certain cases

4. (1) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing-press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise—

(a) to incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence, or

(b) to seduce any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of His Majesty from his allegiance or his duty, or

(c) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of justice in British India or any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty, or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any such Prince or Chief, or

(d) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any act which he is legally entitled to do, or

(e) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or

(f) to convey any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any person in whom that public servant is believed to be interested, with a view to inducing that public servant to do an act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public function,

the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing the word, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such press and all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found to be forefeited to His Majesty.

Explanation I.—In clause (c) the expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation II.—Comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government or of any such Native Prince or Chief as aforesaid with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government or of any such Native Prince or Chief or of the administration of justice in British India without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not come within the scope of clause (c).

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1), the declaration made in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

Deposit of further security.

5. Where the security given in respect of any press has been declared forefeited under section 4, every person making a fresh declaration in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom such declaration is made security to such amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Power to declare further security, printing-press and publications forefeited.

6. If after such further security has been deposited the printing press is again used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare—

(a) the further security so deposited,

(b) the printing-press used for the purpose of printing or publishing such newspapers, book or other document or found in or upon the premises where such newspaper, book or other document is, or at the time of printing the matter complained of was printed, and

(c) all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found,

to be forefeited to His Majesty.

Issue of search-warrant.

7. (1) Where any printing-press is or any copies of any newspaper, book or other document are declared forefeited to His Majesty under this Act, the Local Government may direct any Magistrate to issue a warrant

empowering any police-officer, not below the rank of a Sub-Inspector, to seize and detain any property ordered to be forfeited and to enter upon and search for such property in any premises:—

(i) where any such property may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, or

(ii) where any copy of such newspaper, book or other document is kept for sale, distribution, publication or public exhibition or reasonably suspected to be so kept.

(2) Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Deposit of security by publisher of a newspaper.

8. (1) Every publisher of a newspaper who is required to make a declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall at the time of making the same, deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than two thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India:

Provided that if the person registered under the said Act as printer of the newspaper is also registered as the keeper of the press where the newspaper is printed, the publisher shall not be required to deposit security so long as such registration is in force:

Provided further that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any security or may from time to time cancel or vary any order under this sub-section.

(2) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that a newspaper published within its territories, in respect of which a declaration was made by the publisher thereof prior to the commencement of this Act, under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing, require the publisher to deposit with the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the newspaper is published, security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than five thousand rupees, as the Local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Power to declare security forefeited in certain cases.

9. (1) If any newspaper in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 8 contains any words, signs or visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare such security and all copies of such newspaper, under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1), the declaration made by the publisher of such newspaper under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

Deposit of further security.

10. Where the security given in respect of any newspaper is declared forefeited, any person making a fresh declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, as publisher of such newspaper or any other newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Power to declare further security and newspapers forefeited.

11. If, after such further security has been deposited, the newspaper again contains any words, signs or visible representations which, in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare—

(a) the further security so deposited, and

(b) all copies of such newspaper wherever found, to be forefeited to His Majesty.

Power to declare certain publications forefeited and to issue search-warrants for same.

12. (1) Where any newspaper, book or other document wherever printed appears to the Local Government to contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion declare such newspaper, book or other document to be forefeited to His Majesty, and thereupon any police-officer may seize the same wherever found, and any Magistrate may by warrant authorise any police-officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector to enter upon and search for the same in any premises where the newspaper, book or other document may be or may be reasonably suspected to be.

(2) Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Power to detain packages containing certain publications when imported into British India.

13. The Chief Customs Officer or other officer authorized by the Local Government in this behalf may detain any package brought, whether by land or sea, into British India which he suspects to contain any newspapers, books or other documents of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1), and shall forthwith forward copies of any newspapers, books or other documents found therein to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

Prohibition of transmission by post of certain newspapers.

14. No newspaper printed and published in British India shall be transmitted by post unless the printer and publisher have made a declaration under Section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and the publisher has deposited security when so required under this Act.

Power to detain articles being transmitted by post.

15. Any officer in charge of a post-office or authorised by the Postmaster-General in this behalf, may detain any article other than a letter or parcel in course of transmission by post, which he suspects to contain—

(a) any newspaper, book or other document containing words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1), or

(b) any newspaper in respect of which the declaration required by Section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, has not been deposited by the publisher thereof,

and shall deliver all such articles to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

Copies of newspapers printed in British India to be delivered gratis *to Government.*

16. (1) The printer of every newspaper in British India shall deliver at such place and to such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, direct, and free of expense to the Government two copies of each issue of such newspaper as soon as it is published.

(2) If any printer of any such newspaper neglects to deliver copies of the same in compliance with sub-section (1), he shall, on the complaint of the officer to whom the copies should have been delivered or of any person authorised by that officer in this behalf, be punishable on conviction by a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the newspaper was printed with fine which may extend to fifty rupees for every default.

Application to High Court to set aside order of forfeiture.

17. Any person having an interest in any property in respect of which an order of forfeiture has been made under Section 4, 6, 9, 11 or 12 may, within two months from the date of such order, apply to the High Court to set aside such order on the ground that the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order was made did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1).

Hearing by Special Bench.

18. Every such application shall be heard and determined by a Special Bench of the High Court composed of three judges, or, where the High Court Consists of less than three Judges, of all the Judges.

Order of Special Bench setting aside forfeiture.

19. (1) If it appears to the Special Bench that the words, signs or visible representations contained in the newspaper, book or other documents in respect of which the order in question was made were not of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1), the Special Bench shall set aside the order of forfeiture.

(2) Where there is a difference of opinion among the judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority (if any) of those Judges.

(3) Where there is no such majority which concurs in setting aside the order in question, such order shall stand.

Evidence to prove nature or tendency of newspapers.

20. On the hearing of any such application with reference to any newspaper, any copy of such newspaper published after the commencement of this Act may be given in evidence in aid of the proof of the nature of tendency of the words, signs or visible representations contained in such newspaper which are alleged to be of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1).

Procedure in High Court.

21. Every High Court shall, as soon as conveniently may be, frame rules to regulate the procedure in the case of such applications, the amount of the costs thereof and the execution of orders passed thereon, and until such rules are framed the practice of such Court in proceedings other than suits and appeals shall apply, so far as may be practicable, to such applications.

Jurisdiction barred.

22. Every declaration of forfeiture purporting to be made under this Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place, and no proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act, shall be called in question by any Court, except the High Court on such application as provided by this Act, shall be instituted against any person for anything done or in good faith intended to be done under this Act.

Penalty for keeping press or publishing newspaper without making deposit.

23. (1) Whoever keeps in his possession a press for the printing of books or papers without making a deposit under Section 3 or Section 5, when required so to do, shall on conviction by a Magistrate be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by Section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

(2) Whoever publishes any newspaper without making a deposit under Section 8 or Section 10, when required so to do, or publishes such newspaper, knowing that such security has not been deposited, shall on conviction by a Magistrate, be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by Section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

Return of deposited security in certain cases.

24. Where any person has deposited any security under this Act and ceases to keep the press in respect of which such security was deposited, or, being a publisher, makes a declaration under Section 8 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, he may apply to the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction such press is situate for the return of the said security and thereupon such security shall, upon proof to the satisfaction of the Magistrate and subject to the provisions hereinbefore contained, be returned to such person.

Service of Notices.

25. Every notice under this Act shall be sent to a Magistrate who shall cause it to be served in the manner provided for the service of summonses under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Operation of other laws not barred.

26. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prevent any person from being prosecuted under any other law for any act or omission which constitutes an offence against this Act.

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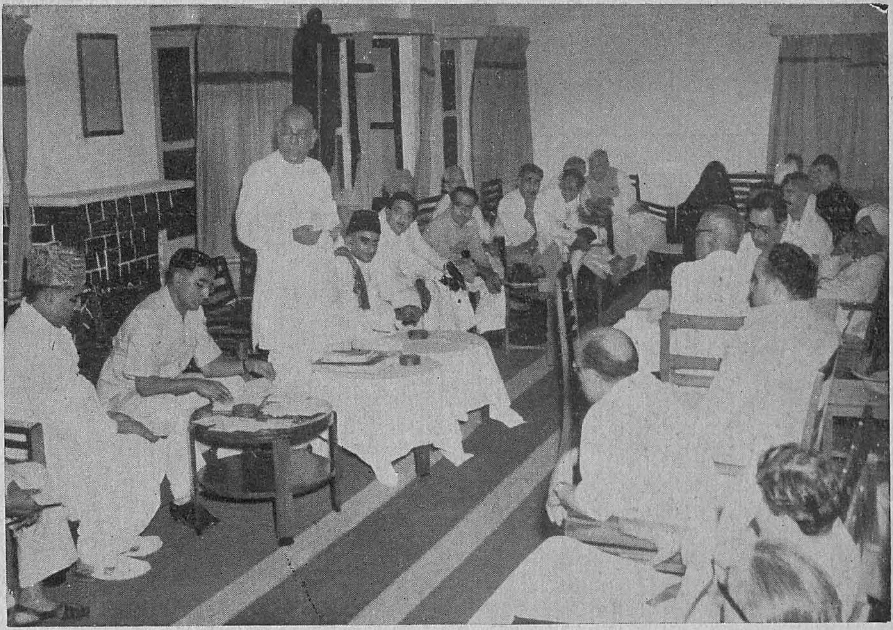
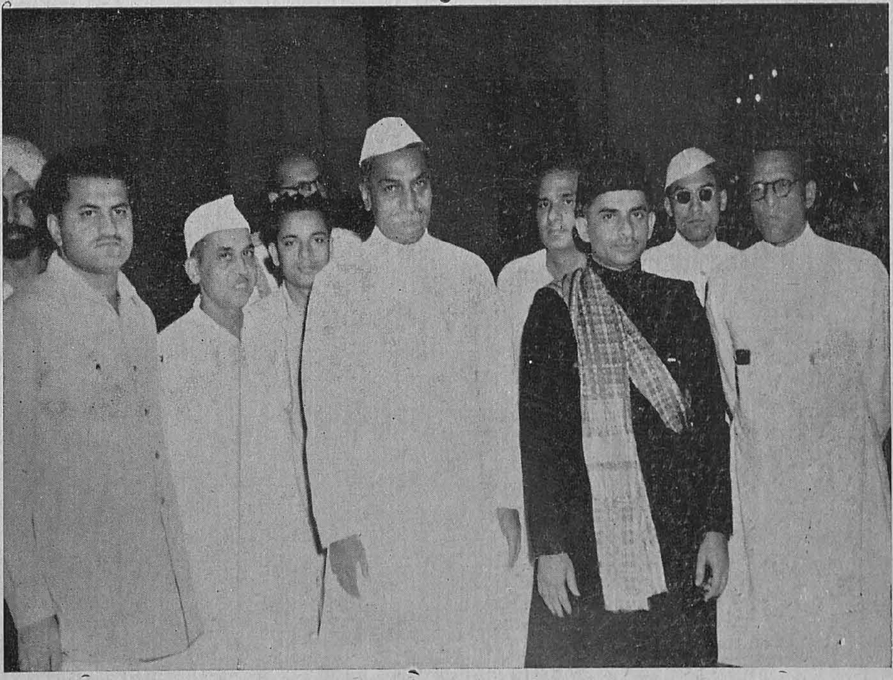


Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, President of the A.I.N.E.C., addressing the joint meeting of the Standing Committee of the A.I.N.E.C. and the P.N.E.C. in New Delhi on May 4, 1950.

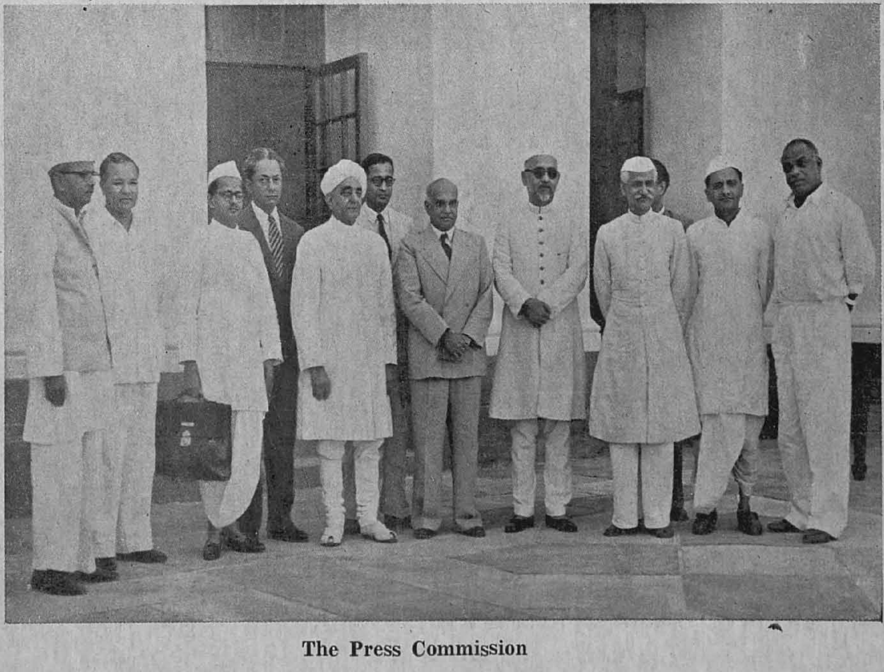


The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, with the delegates of the All India and the Pakistan Newspaper Editors' Conference at New Delhi on May 4, 1950

The members of the Turkish Press Delegation being shown a specimen of silk yarn at the Mysore Silk Factory

The Press Commission meeting in New Delhi on October 11, 1952

The Press Commission at work, New Delhi



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